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THE ROBBERY AND MORAL ASSASSINATION OF THE COLORED RACE BY LEGISLATION.

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Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country. For I am the Lord your God.—Lev. xxiv., 22.

Thou shalt not respect persons; that which is altogether just shalt thou follow.—Deut. xvi., 20.

Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment.—Exodus xxiii., 2.

And so Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.—Mark xv., 15.

From the present Congress, the first Legislative Assembly of the United States after the defeat of the rebellion and the assassination of President Lincoln, much was justly expected for God and the country. The opportunity was vast and grand. And the *vox populi*, if not the *vox Dei*, was heard gladly, and they did many things. And in behalf of the colored race, in the fresh, grateful remembrance of the services of two hundred thousand soldiers, many admirable speeches were made, and much was promised, from the enactment of impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia, to the same just measure in the rebel States. And great admiration and applause was bestowed in view of such patriotic assurances, and wise and good beginnings. The disappointment of a failure is severe in proportion.

For the conclusion of all this deliberative glory is a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States, not in behalf of justice, but against it; not for the protection of the colored race, but for their oppression; not to release them from the endurance of wrong, but to deliver them, for the content of the rebels, to be morally crucified. For such is the result, in our country, of constitutionally depriving them of the right to vote on account of the color of the skin.

The question is one of public morality and justice, and must necessarily be examined in the light of the Word of God, in regard to the obligations between government and people. Let us consider. 1. The supreme jurisdiction and consequent responsibility of Congress in the matter and their present position. 2. The position of the colored race, and the origin of the plan of reconstruction excluding them from suffrage. 3. The Report of Congress as proposing such exclusion by Amendment of the Constitution. 4. The nature of the Amendment as a violation of Divine justice, and a revolution in the government against the rights of the whole people.

POWER AND OPPORTUNITY POSSESSED. ASSUMPTION AND POSITION TAKEN.

Even if the rebels were not punished for their treason we had a right to expect that the blacks should not be punished for their loyalty. The Congress have had full power. In every measure looking towards justice they have been sustained by the country. The country would have received with acclamation a law securing to the colored race the right of suffrage. The Congress had complete jurisdiction. The Report of the Committee makes this evident. Whatever they did in behalf of the rebels, they could have done as much in behalf of the loyal population. If it was in their power to provide that the rebel States should retain their authority over the colored race, it was equally in their power to have provided that the colored race should have the same authority, the same privileges, the same rights, the same representation in proportion to their numbers, and the same security, as the white race.

But Congress and the Committee have proceeded on the assumption that while the white race have natural and inalienable rights indestructible even by treason, the rights of the black race are only such as the white government may please to bestow upon them. The white race possess their rights by nature, the blacks receive theirs only by governmental grace, the whites constituting the sole determining authority.

This is a direct violation, on a vast scale, of the law of God in regard to governmental justice, that it shall not be conducted with respect to persons. If only one man were deprived of the right to vote, by an enactment of the Legislature, or a decision of the judges on account of the color of his skin, that would be a glaring instance of respect to persons. How much more if a class of many thousands be deprived of that right, by an enactment of law, an amendment of "the organic law" in the Constitution, contrived for that very purpose!

This aspect of the matter brings it up as a religious interest, a thing demanding examination because it contravenes the religious obligations and Christian conscience of the country; a matter requiring the strictest judgment at the bar of God's Word. It is not a mere political transaction, or a question of political economy or expediency, but of fundamental vital morality, a question of the violation of justice, both personal and public.

We have come to a most solemn juncture. What we do now we do by legislation, and we are laying the foundations of many generations. What we sanction as a power in States we put as precedent and construction into the Constitution. If we leave the States at liberty to deprive the colored race of suffrage, in spite of the clause requiring us to guarantee a republican government, then for all coming time it will be pleaded that a republican government is decided to mean a government the benefits of which are only for the whites.

We have been promising that if we had the power we would free and elevate the slaves. We have justified ourselves for not abolishing slavery, because we could not do it by law. If we could we would redeem them. We would legislate in their behalf, if we had the power. God said, Give the power. Behold they are in thine hands to do with them as thou pleasest. And we not only refuse to pass a law for their protection, but give them over into the power of rebel States to oppress them, so amending the Constitution for that purpose, that it shall be an elementary right of State sovereignty to deprive them of their rights at pleasure.

This is the trial of our government. Every other has been trifling. If we cannot legislate for the protection of our citizens, but in various parts of the country communities of two or three hundred thousand have the right to defraud and oppress other hundreds of thousands, and we cannot interfere by the power of righteous law, then our government is a failure. The ability and the spirit to carry on a war are common qualities. The power of wise legislation and of the protection of all the citizens under equal laws is another thing. Our government is vaunted as having stood the tug of a war of four years against a rebellion in behalf of slavery. It must have been a thing unworthy of the name of government if it could not stand that. But now comes the real trial. If it is so weak that it dare not or cannot legislate for justice without respect to persons, but is compelled to leave the weak and defenceless in the power of the wicked and the strong, then it is no true government.

RESPECT OF PERSONS IN GOVERNMENT A CRIME AGAINST GOD.

The question before us is the government of the whole country by the Constitution, and of all its inhabitants, black or white, as citizens and subjects of the United States on the principles of justice and liberty, for which government is ordained of God. The government cannot constitutionally separate the inhabitants into classes of black or white to be treated with a separate legislation according to the color of the skin. It cannot suppose a possibility of any particular class or race of the citizens of the United States being shut out from the common rights of citizens under the Constitution on account of blood or race or complexion. Whatever it does, as the supreme parental government for the people, by authority derived under God from the whole people, it must do for all.

Especially, in the case before us of the rebel States, the government cannot recognize as authoritative or instructive the prejudices, customs, or municipal laws founded in slavery—cannot adopt such things as examples or precedents. The government cannot permit the interpretation and application of the Constitution to be determined by local prejudices or statutes, and habits of ostracism and caste, of the nature of attainder of blood, from generation to generation. These oppressions may have grown up and existed in violation of the Constitution, both the letter and spirit of which, once directly applied, would sweep them all away. Now the time has come, in the good providence of God, through the rebellion, in which the Constitution can be directly applied for personal freedom and justice. And now to permit these abuses to stand as interpreters of the Constitution, or nullifiers of its equal justice, to consult these oppressions as the Urim and Thummim of the State, or to admit them into the Constitution as its legitimate products or advisers, would be monstrous. We might as properly adopt the buried codes of Pompeii or of Sodom for our instruction in morals. It would be like forcibly administering the will of a dead person, who had left large quantities of poison to be given to his servants. The rebel States being dead in law, we propose to assume and administer as a legal Constitutional heritage the prejudice against the negro, and the custom of oppression excluding him on account of his complexion from our own common rights of humanity, from rights which we would ourselves die rather than relinquish. This is the false position into which we have been thrown as a government and people in consequence of the President adopting the prejudice against color as the corner-stone of his scheme of reconstruction.

That scheme was presented in his proclamations ordering the rebel States to appoint conventions of the people for the framing of loyal State governments. The primal question was, Who should vote? The disqualifying condition was the color of the skin, and that condition was appointed by the President, in that he designated as the only person who should be allowed to vote those who had exercised this right in the year 1861, at the time when the States went into rebellion. The two States with which the President began were North Carolina and Mississippi, where the right of voting was limited to free white male persons. The corner-stone of reconstruction was thus hewn from the old quarry of oppression. If President Johnson had himself said, No negro shall vote, this would not have been a more effective and direct exclusion of the negro by his own fiat. It was a proclamation of the prejudice against color and of the municipal and State laws against the same by the President of the United States. Taking the old law from rebel authorities, he proclaimed as United States law and ordained by his own will and choice that no colored person should vote. This was the tap-root of reconstruction, and every after measure took its vitality from that. The vote is the primal element of republican freedom. The exclusion of any one class from it is the primal element of despotism, and is the agency by which a republican despotism may be made more cruel and intolerable than any other.

But the object of our government is justice for the people. It is certainly a government of the negroes under it, as well as of the whites, and its object is the same in both cases—the securing of their rights as citizens and subjects, as a portion of the people, to whom the government belongs, and for whom it is bound to be administered. The government cannot rightfully be one thing for the negroes and another for the whites. Our Constitution and government are of and for the people, irrespective of complexion or race. In its application in the work of reconstruction we have nothing to do with the constitutions and laws which the rebel and slaveholding States had when they entered into the rebellion for the perpetuity and supremacy of slavery. Especially we cannot recognize as a pattern, starting-point, or model of reconstruction the constitutions and laws which were framed for the security and perpetuity of slavery. We cannot accept the distinctions which grew out of slavery, as things to be perpetuated or held sacred and authoritative. Neither can it be admitted that any rebel State shall designate its own conditions of return into the Union, especially when those conditions demand the oppression of loyal citizens as a class beneath the sole government of the rebels as the superior class. We could not constitutionally permit or establish an hereditary governing class, even if all classes were equally loyal; much less can it be just or endurable that the rebels be established as the sole governing class, to the permanent oppression of the loyal class. Nor is any apprehended insurmountable prejudice or determination of the rebels against the loyal blacks having the right of suffrage any justification for the proposal of the Committee to give and continue to the rebels the right to take away that right at their pleasure.

ESSENCE OF THE PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Yet this is the essence of the plan. It is to make the rebel government a white man's government, on the ground of an insurmountable prejudice and habit that has grown out of slavery—and is now put forward as a justification for leaving the whole and sole power of government in the rebel States in the hands of the whites, that is, of the rebels. The proposed amendment of the Constitution, authorizing them to exclude the colored race from the vote, new creates and establishes this white oligarchy. The whole Presidential and Congressional statesmanship of reconstruction is comprehended in this one element, every other being subordinate or subservient to that.

If it is intended to keep the blacks, or any other class, in serfdom, it is only necessary to exclude them from voting. If it is intended to return them by State law under pretence of legal guardianship, into slavery, it is only necessary to exclude them from voting. Anything that the governing power wishes to do with the governed it can accomplish simply by withholding the right to vote from whom, and bestowing it upon whom it pleases, even to the extent of enslaving the non-voting party. This is the perfection of State sovereignty as contended for at the South. This is the sovereignty that is being reconstructed in the Union on any plan that excludes the colored race from the vote. It is the sovereignty of the white man's government, at present limiting its exercise to the color of the skin, but including the power which at any time may be developed, of a still more stringent despotism against any class that may become the object of hatred or jealousy.

ALL FREE PERSONS ENTITLED TO THE VOTE BY THE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted not with the right of excluding the colored race from the vote; but, on the contrary, with the exclusion of the supposition of such a right as impossible. The attempts were made by South Carolina to introduce an exclusion by color, and rejected. The article which was adopted, basing representation on the whole number of free persons, looked forward to the time when all would be free, and would have the same right of representation, irrespective of color or race. This is evident from the pages of the *Federalist* and the declarations of Hamilton and Madison, as well as the various Bills of Rights adopted by the States. In the fifty-third number of the *Federalist*, it is presented as the opinion of slaveholders themselves that if ever the slaves were set free, the right of representation on their part would immediately follow. The declaration is very remarkable, and is as follows:

"It is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subjects of property, that a place is disputed them in the computation of numbers: and it is admitted that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants."

This great event having come, that portion of the population of the rebel States heretofore excluded from the vote by slavery and color, are now on the same footing with the other inhabitants, constitutionally possessed of that right. They enter into the condition anticipated by Madison and Hamilton, so that the rebel States can no longer refuse, and the Congress are bound to secure for them, an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants. Unless the Constitution be altered, this is inevitable.

It is therefore proposed to amend the Constitution, so as to give the rebels the privilege and right, if they choose, of disfranchising the negroes on account of their color and race, thus enabling the rebel States to avoid the necessity, and destroy the benefit, contemplated by Madison and Hamilton under a free Constitution. And Congress, in sanctioning this amendment, are seen in the position of interfering to take away those rights which the negroes would otherwise have had under the Constitution as its framers and the people had established and accepted it, though they have disavowed the right of interfering to protect those rights. It is proposed on purpose to alter the Constitution in order that this interference against the negroes may be justified and accomplished. In the sight of God and justice, is this anything else but a legislative fraud and robbery?

THE LEGACY OF FREEDOM AND ITS EXECUTORS.

We may illustrate the responsibility and the action of Congress by a familiar figure. The legacy of freedom having fallen to the colored race by the interposition of the Almighty, in the suicide of the slave States, the Congress have no right to withhold that legacy, or to interfere with it, or to alter its provisions, or to pervert its income, or to take away any of the privileges or rights connected with it or belonging to it, as to the same legacy in possession of white citizens in any of the States. The Congress are merely executors in trust in behalf of the colored race, that they may receive the utmost benefit from the legacy that ever can be received, or that can legitimately be gained from it, or that the white race reap from the same. The Congress have no more right to withhold the income, or to turn it over to the former masters, or to put it out of the power of the heirs and into the keeping of the rebels, than the executors of an estate left to a poor widow by will would have to take the income of that estate and invest it for their own children or give it to the keeper of a billiard table. The Congress have no right to legislate against the blacks, no right to prefer the white rebels before them, no more right to put the power of disfranchising the black race in their hands, than they would have to put the power of disfranchising the white race in the hands of the blacks. The Congress have no right to legislate in regard to the blacks at all, except as citizens, with the right of representation; no right, without consulting them, to pass any law affecting their interests much more consigning them to the condition of persons dead in law.

The Committee of Fifteen had no right to propose any measure injuriously affecting their rights, without their consent. In all their investigations, have they proposed to inquire what were the opinions and wishes of the colored race? In all their tender consideration of the habits of the rebels and the prejudices of men long accustomed to trample the colored race under foot, and in all their anxiety to conciliate those prejudices, have they so much as thought of questioning whether the rights and preferences of the blacks were to be taken into account? They have legislated, or proposed to legislate, according to their own showing, solely in behalf of the whites, and against the blacks to their injury. They could not put them back into slavery. The amended Constitution forbade that as a crime. They could, by another amendment, cast them down into serfdom, by giving their masters the right of destroying the vital right of freedom, the right of suffrage, and this they propose to do. Is there any consultation of the persons whose rights are thus sacrificed? Have the Committee sent into South Carolina to ask whether the majority of the people of that State would prefer to have the Constitution amended so as to put all their rights at the mercy of the minority? Has there ever been a Committee of Congress in Mississippi to call together a convention of the loyal colored race of that State—a vast majority of the population—to learn from them what they thought was best, and what, in their opinion would be the wisest permanent reconstruction? They have proposed to abandon the negroes as to the right of suffrage, to the disposal of the States according to former usage, because the reluctance of the whites to give up that power is quite insurmountable. Have they inquired of the negroes as to whether they were willing to be thus abandoned?

The voice of the Congress to the rebels in the proposed amendment is singularly degrading to our own government. If you choose to rob our citizens, do it; we shall not interfere to protect them; we will sanction the robbery. If you rob them of the right of suffrage, which you regard as your most sacred property, we will make such robbery a constitutional right confirmed to you forever; only, you cannot be permitted to avail yourselves of their votes; having destroyed them, you cannot make a property to yourselves of them. You may rob your victim, but we will make him a personal and public blank, so that, though he is in your power to degrade and insult as you please, you cannot make political capital out of him. You are at liberty to take from him the right of representation; but if you do, you cannot any longer be represented by him. We guarantee to you the constitutional liberty to take from him the dearest right of his constitutional liberty. We amend the Constitution on your behalf against him for the purpose of securing you in this sacrifice of his rights. We gave him his liberty, and amended the Constitution for that purpose, to deliver him from slavery; and we pledged ourselves to pass such laws as should be necessary to protect him in that freedom. We now amend the Constitution in order that you may again seize, bind and condemn him as a slave; that you may take from him and from us, all power of protecting him, by taking from him all right of representation. Strip him of that right, and you can do with him as you please; we can do nothing for him.

POSITIONS AND LOGIC OF THE COMMITTEE.

The amount of reasoning and conclusion in that part of the Report relating to the colored race is as follows:

1. The former slaves have been made free citizens.

2. Their rights, civil and political, as such, ought to be secured.

3. The vote is the power of self-protection and security.

4. Being such, it is a full and adequate protection to all classes of citizens.

5. The equal participation of all, without distinction, in all the rights and privileges of citizenship, is required to such full and adequate protection.

These propositions are gathered from the Report. The conclusion to have been expected was that Congress are bound to secure by law to the colored race as well as the white that power of self protection in the vote, as freemen, of which they have always been deprived as slaves, and as deprived of the right of representation, heretofore, on account of the color of the skin. But, instead of this conclusion, the committee have presented,

6. The question, whether to give the vote and its power of self-protection to colored citizens in the Rebel States; a question involving,

7. The assumption of the right to withhold it at our pleasure, without consultation of those who are to defend it.

8. The reasons why it should be left with the rebel States, to be withheld at their pleasure from the colored race. The rebel States have always had exclusive possession of political power, consisting in the power of determining the vote as not belonging to the colored race, but only to the whites. The habit of such despotism is so fascinating and unconquerable, that it is doubtful "whether those States would consent to surrender a power they had always exercised, and to which they were attached." Also, "doubtful whether Congress could act directly in the subject."

9. Conclusion therefore proposed, to leave with those States all this power still untouched, if they choose to exercise it. Authorize them to disfranchise citizens by reason of color as well as crime; but appeal to their magnanimity, hoping for a result at no distant period.

10. Appeal also to their thirst for political State power, in the increase of State representation by the admission of all freemen to the vote.

11. "It is not just nor proper that the political advantages derived from the slaves becoming free should be confined to their former masters, who had fought against the Union, and withheld from themselves, who had always been loyal."

12. The tendency of continuing the domination of such a class by leaving it in the exclusive possession of political power, would be adverse to republican institutions.

13. Therefore, authorize that dominating class, by amending the Constitution for that purpose, to continue that exclusive possession as long as they choose, with simply the political drawback of a representation of the rebel States in the general government on the same rule as in all the States, the rule of the actual number of voters.

14. With this provision, leave the whole question of the disposal of the colored race with the people of each State, meaning of course the white people; for the colored are set aside as being tried for their social and political life, as criminals at the bar, and judgment waits to be pronounced, only the whites being judges. Leave it to the white people of each State to determine whether the colored race shall be any part of the people, with the people's right to vote.

15. This is "a gentle and persuasive policy," leaving the colored race in the power of the white race, but reminding the oligarchy thus constitutionally established, that each rebel State will have a larger representation in Congress if they conclude to admit colored citizens to that vital privilege of United States' citizenship, the vote which the amendment proposed by the Committee will give them the right of withholding from as many as they choose. Justice being thus rejected by the general government, and injustice made constitutional, it may be hoped that at no distant day, under such persuasions, the States will restore to the colored race that right of citizenship and humanity which we have amended the Constitution to enable them to take away. "It may be hoped," says a conspicuous daily journal, "that the South will now accord equal rights to her freedmen," after such magnanimity on the part of the government in renouncing the right of governing and protecting them.

Such is the report of the Committee, in regard to the grand central question of what is necessary for the security of the rights of free loyal citizens in the rebel States.

The Committee declare that the principle involved in this policy and amendment, "is known and believed to be sound." What principle is it? The principle of sacrificing the rights of the colored race in order to conciliate the prejudices of the rebels. There is no other imaginable principle except that of the expediency, for the sake of an easier reconstruction of the Union, of leaving the rebel States in possession of exclusive political power over the vote, as they have always held it, rejecting the colored race from all participation in it.

The remainder of the Report is a long, able, and conclusive demonstration that the people of the rebel States are at present wholly unfit to be trusted with such power or admitted by representation into Congress. They are still disloyal, revengeful, treasonable in their spirit, attitude, and demonstrations, and require, for the safety of the Union in future, that proper securities for peace and obedience to the Constitution and laws, be exacted and applied by Congressional legislation. To this end supreme jurisdiction is claimed over them, and where it may not be exercised directly, it is proposed to amend "the organic law of government," so as to provide "such constitutional or other guarantees as will tend to secure the civil rights of all citizens of the republic, a just equality of representation, and protection against claims founded in rebellion and crime."

Such is declared to be the purpose of an amendment, the direct action of which is to authorize these same rebel States, pronounced unfit for representation themselves, to take away the right of representation, the right of the vote at their pleasure, from all the colored citizens of the United States—an amendment designed to give over the whole colored race of citizens into their power. That done, we may appeal to their magnanimity and hope for a just equality of representation at no distant day.

CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

The Committee open that part of their report with the statement of a provision already in the Constitution, namely that representation shall be based on the whole number of free persons in each State, and three-fifths of all other persons. Since the abolition of slavery there are no such "other persons;" but all are free. Here, then, was a sufficient rule of justice. Why did not the Committee take their stand on that, and propose that it be carried into practice? It places the whole population of each State on the same footing, with the right of representation according to numbers—that is, according to the number of persons free, and therefore possessing, each, all, and equally the right of representation. That right is personal, individual, and is exercised by the vote, and in no other way. The whole number of free persons in the State exercise it—the only condition in the Constitution being freedom. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned according to the number of free persons. Representatives can no more be apportioned to the people without suffrage, than taxes without representation. No taxation without representation. No representation without suffrage. Suffrage is the individual exercise of the right of representation; the expression of each one's representative judgment and will, as a portion of the people. The right cannot exist without the vote, and the vote, as well as the right of representation, belongs to every individual of the whole number of free persons in each State.

Now, then, Congress were bound to secure, by law, the benefit and right of this constitutional provision in the rebel as well as the loyal States. Congress were bound to see to it that when the slaves became free, they should no longer be unrepresented as chattels, or represented in three-fifths, as the political property of their masters, but represented for and by themselves, by their own will and vote, according to the nature of representation with all other free persons. All that Congress had to do in the matter was to see to it that this provision having become, by the ceasing of slavery, binding upon the rebel States as well as the free, should not be evaded, but executed for the benefit and protection of the particular class that by the Constitutional Amendment forbidding slavery, had the title to it, inasmuch as they, being free persons, had become a part of the people of the States, by whom representatives must be chosen, as well as on whom direct taxes must be laid.

This action of the Constitution was inevitable, and imperious on the rebel States, unless the Constitution itself should be amended to prevent it. For the amendment of the Constitution which made the slaves free, threw them back, in that very act and moment, upon the universal organic law of representation by the whole number of free persons, no distinction of race or color being possible, and made it inevitable that they should vote in the rebel States as well as the free States. President Johnson's plan of reconstruction providing that only such persons should vote as had the right of voting, or did vote before the rebellion and before the slaves were made free, violated this law of the Constitution which based representation upon freedom, and excluded the free colored race from their constitutional and fundamental right. The Congress and the Committee have followed that Presidential plan. But whereas on the part of the President it was only a military proclamation, irrespective of the Constitution, it is essential that Congress and the Committee must act under and by the Constitution. It was impossible, therefore, to carry out President Johnson's plan excluding the colored race from suffrage in the rebel States, without an alteration of the Constitution giving to all the States, and consequently to the rebel States, authority to base representation on the color of the skin, and not on the number of free persons; that is, authority to evade the constitutional provision of freedom and citizenship as constituting the right of suffrage, by denying that right to whatsoever classes any State pleased, and for other causes besides rebellion and crime; that is, authority to deny suffrage on account of the color of the skin, whenever any State chose to disfranchise its colored population.

THE AMENDMENT A STRATAGEM TO EVADE THE CONSTITUTION.

Instead of obeying and carrying out the Constitution as it stood, the Committee have prepared a new amendment expressly to avoid obeying it; and this amendment intended to surmount the difficulty presented by the law of freedom in the Constitution, and the habit of long accustomed olicarchic and despotic power possessed by the white race exclusively in the rebel States, is now, by Congressional adoption, as concentrating the wisdom and justice of six month's deliberation, to be presented to the people and Legislatures of the States for their acceptance; that is, to the white people exclusively, and to Legislatures chosen by the white race. How is this preference of a class despotism to be accounted for, when the establishment of equality for all classes before the law was equally in their power?

The same Congress voted to the State of Colorado the right of disfranchising the colored race on account of color, when they might have compelled that State, according to the Constitution, to base its representation on the whole number of free persons, irrespective of color or race; thus showing that their choice of this measure of despotism was hearty and deliberate, and that they were not compelled into it by an ultimate necessity such as that which compelled us to emancipate the slaves, nor by any difficulty otherwise insurmountable, for the overcoming of which the insertion of an unjust and oppressive article in the Constitution by amendment would be "eminently just and proper." After the vote on Colorado, it was quite needless for the Committee to go about with such laborious sophistry of a pressure of necessity and the intensity of rebel repugnance, to justify their method of disfranchisement by alteration of the Constitution. They might have taken it by naked precedent of the procedure against the colored race in the case of Colorado, as leaving them no alternative, inasmuch as they could not consistently give to a free State the privilege of disfranchising its colored population, and refuse the same privilege to a rebel State; and this procedure might have been based on the article which the Committee have reported, providing that the privileges and immunities of citizens in one State shall not be refused to the citizens of another State. They might have said that it is contrary to the Constitution that the privilege belonging to white citizens in Colorado and Connecticut, of excluding colored citizens from the right to vote, should be denied or abridged to white citizens in South Carolina and Mississippi, more especially as in the case of these latter rebel States the white people are in a minority, and have long enjoyed that privilege of disfranchising the majority as their right, and are so habituated and attached to the exercise of its despotic power, that the difficulty of refusing or abridging it is quite insurmountable. They must be left in its continuance, till they themselves choose, under this gentle and persuasive policy, to put an end to it.

Disfranchisement is only for loyal citizens, and the rebels having long been accustomed to inflict that punishment, must be left undisturbed in that power. It is preached as a duty and proof of forbearance and pity on our part. We must thus show our forgiveness of the rebels, our enemies, by leaving our friends at their disposal unprotected. If they strike the negro on the right cheek, we must instantly wrench him round and tell them to strike him on the other. If they take away the negro's cloak, we must let them take his coat also. If they burn his school-houses, we must let them also burn his churches. We must forgive all the negro's injuries, and bind him over for more.

THE AMENDMENT A POWER OF CHATTELIZATION.

Again, the measure proposed involves the comprehensive and offensive result of saddling upon all the States of the Union a despotic power of *chattelization* in effect, in order that rebel States may not be compelled to treat their former chattels as free voting citizens, as human beings. Freedom and full citizenship, having accrued to the colored race in those States, by emancipation, the Committee propose to leave that race still unrepresented, and the rebel States still in the enjoyment of that power of ruling over them without representation, which they have always possessed. Hence the proposal of an amendment, reducing the whole colored race throughout the Union to the same category of being disfranchised at the pleasure of the State for other causes than that of crime. That is, in order to gratify the prejudice of South Carolina, for example, against the blacks, and to avoid interfering with the habit which that State has always enjoyed of ruling over the blacks as an inferior, unrepresented race of chattels and mudsills, the Committee propose a measure which reduces the whole colored race in all the States to the same level and capacity of being tramped on as in the rebel States; authorizing the white Legislatures everywhere to trample out the right of representation in the blacks. For the sake of introducing South Carolina to this freedom of destroying the right of suffrage in her black population Massachusetts is endowed with the same freedom, the same authority, by virtue of this amendment; and the colored race in Massachusetts are just as liable to be deprived of the right of voting, on account of the color of the skin, if the State choose, as the colored race in South Carolina. This never before could be done by authority of the Constitution. It is now made a State right, by this amendment, everywhere, in order that it may be exercised as a State right by the rebel States. The Committee have taken pattern from the rebel States, and arranged the same suit for all the States accordingly. It is Confederate rebel gray adopted in the United States Constitution.

AN ILLUSTRATION FROM ORIENTAL DESPOTISM.

In order that the Jews in a particular city might be sacrificed to the prejudice and hatred of an inimical race in power, an Oriental despot enacted that the people in all the provinces throughout his vast dominions should have liberty and the right to kill and destroy the race of the Jews, wherever they pleased. It was of no consequence whether it were done or not elsewhere; it was certain that in the particular city where Haman dwelt, and where especially the Jewish race were the objects of his hatred, it would be done. And in order that it might be done without seeming to exercise an invidious and merely local and selecting vengeance, it was made universal by a law reaching through the whole empire. Just so in the case before us. If the Committee had been composed of so many Hamans they could not have contrived more artfully, more plausibly, a measure for the gratification of the hatred of the rebel States against the colored population. In order to disfranchise that whole population in those States, a decree goes forth that it shall be lawful according to the Constitution as amended for that purpose, to deprive the colored citizens of the right of voting in any and in all the States, either on account of color or of crime; if on account of color, then the whole population so deprived in and by the State, shall be counted null and void by the United States, and dead as to any right of representation either as individuals or as a number in the census of the population. Just as if the Oriental despot had added in his decree giving to the people in all the provinces the right of killing Jews, that if in any province they availed themselves of that right, then the monarch would consider and regard that portion of the population killed by them as being really dead and buried, and no more to be numbered among the people of the province to be cared for. The analogy is impressive. For the measure proposing and providing for the disfranchisement of the colored race on account of the color of the skin, is the proposal and provision of their moral assassination; since from the time that a man loses the right of representation he is in fact considered as *caput mortuum*, practically a chattel. And for men to be put to that death, as colored persons by the white race and by white legislation, is the practice of the judicial declaration of Justice Taney, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect. And as Taney based his declaration on the ground that it had always been the habit and public opinion of the country, and therefore ought not to be reversed, so the Committee of Fifteen report that inasmuch as the rebel States have always enjoyed the privilege of governing the blacks without representation, it would be perilous to attempt to reverse that habit. Therefore, in order to avoid the appearance of injustice let the same habit be adopted by all the States, and let the Constitution be amended accordingly.

Yet the Committee express a strong sense of the obligation of protecting the negroes, and abhorrence of the abandonment of them to their former masters. They say it was impossible to abandon them without securing their rights as men and citizens, for they had become citizens and freemen. And yet those rights are taken from the negroes and given to the whites. And the measure of amendment proposed by the Committee is unquestionably an effective and entire abandonment of them to the tender mercies of the rebels, with the agreement that being so abandoned, and being in consequence deprived of suffrage, and so of that right of self-protection, which the report of the Committee affirms to be essential, we, the white government, will not interfere to protect them, or to prevent their oppression, in any other way but by providing that if they are not permitted to vote, they shall not be counted as population. By this gentle and persuasive policy it is proposed to secure the rights of the negroes, whom we have abandoned to the will of the rebel masters to do with them as they please. We say to the rebels, Disfranchise them at your pleasure. We provide for you the constitutional authority to do this by an amendment without which you could not constitutionally have done it. In consideration of your doing it, you will relinquish the political power which would have accrued in the State representation, if they had been permitted to vote. Having thus secured their rights as men and citizens we abandon them to you, and shall not interfere whatever you do with them.

This is that "adequate security" in behalf of the negroes which the Committee claim to have wrought out "in appropriate provisions of the Constitution," having found it important to inquire what could be done to secure their rights, civil and political. The answer to that inquiry amounts to this:—Put them into the hands of the rebels, with the authority to destroy their right of suffrage, which is essential to self-protection, and then offer a premium of increased political momentum in the State, congressionally, if they forbear from exercising that authority.

DESPOTISM INAUGURATED IN THE CONSTITUTION.

A power of despotism never before imagined or asserted to reside in the Constitution is created for this emergency, and set in it, even the power of destroying the primal right of citizenship out of which the government springs, from which it derives its being and for the protection of which in its wholeness and vitality untouched, unassailed, the government is supported. That power is created and given to each State, of destroying the right of representation in such classes as it pleases, and for any cause. The whole present purpose and occasion of this despotism is that the rebel States may have and enjoy constitutionally the power of disfranchising their black population. For this purpose there must be a change in the organic law of the government; not a change more firmly to secure the primal and inalienable right of the citizen, but to transfer that right to the possession of each State government at its disposal. For this purpose it is proposed that it be made a part of the organic law of our government that each State shall have the right to deny to any of its male inhabitants at its pleasure the right to vote, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States. This right is in and by the amendment in effect assumed as being a State right fundamental and undeniable. Whenever the right of vote is denied to any of the inhabitants, being citizens of the United States, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in such State. No form of language could more stealthily or less offensively affirm the right of such denial of suffrage, yet no form could more effectually convey it. It is assumed as so real and unquestionable that when exercised, a reduction of the basis of representation ensues.

That the nature of this proposition may be more clearly visible we unite the first and second sections in logical connection. No State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. But the right to vote for United States representatives or officers is not a fundamental right of citizenship of the United States, and may, therefore, be denied or abridged by any State at its pleasure. Provided only that whenever the right to vote for United States officers is denied to citizens of the United States, or abridged, except for crime, the numerical basis of State representation shall be reduced accordingly.

DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF REPRESENTATION.

It has always been supposed that a primal privilege and immunity of citizens of the United States was the right to vote, or the right of representation in and for the government of the United States, even as a primal privilege of citizens of the State is the right to vote or the right of representation in the State government. But the primeordial and inalienable nature of this right is here denied, and on that denial a change in the organic law of the government is based, giving over to the government itself this right of citizenship, as a possession and right not of the citizen but of the State government, to be withheld or bestowed at its pleasure. And this revolution, this *coup d'etat* in the bowels of the Constitution is undertaken solely for the purpose of giving to the rebel States a constitutional right to disfranchise their whole colored population, and to govern them without representation. In other words to make each rebel State a white man's government, in which the blacks shall have no part, but though a large numerical majority, as in South Carolina, shall be governed solely by the whites, and disposed of in all respects at their pleasure.

This is all that the United States government can do, all that the Committee of Congress propose to be done, "for that large proportion of the population of the States recently in insurrection, made freemen and citizens by Constitutional Amendment, and who, through all the struggle of our government against the rebels, had remained true and loyal, and had in large numbers fought on the side of Union." They propose to give the rebels supreme power over these loyal citizens, as an "eminently just and proper method of surmounting the difficulty encountered in the unwillingness of the rebel States to surrender a power they had always exercised, and to which they were attached." They had always exercised it over slaves. Without an Amendment in the Constitution providing for its exercise over freemen, its continuance would be contrary to the Constitution. Provide, therefore, such an Amendment, by which they may continue to exercise the power they are unwilling to surrender, and couple it with "the gentle and persuasive condition leading to an equal participation of all, without distinction, in all the rights and privileges of citizenship, by holding out to all the advantage of increased political power, as an inducement to allow all to participate in its exercise."

It would have been as easy and legitimate to provide by Amendment that colored citizens shall vote, as that white citizens shall have the right to deprive them of the vote. By securing to them the vote the Committee would have instantly and directly conferred upon the State that advantage of increased political power, the prospect of which they think will induce the rebels themselves to do this justice. The Committee authorize the injustice, and make it constitutional, and then invite the rebels to refrain from it.

THE COLORED RACE BETRAYED WITH A KISS.

The Committee betray the colored race with a kiss into the power of their enemies. The race are crushed between these two millstones, that Pilate and Herod may renew their union. Pilate, willing to content the people sets Barabbas at liberty, but delivers the just person into their hands to be crucified. It is regarded as an eminently just and proper method of surmounting the difficulty. The Committee wash their hands of the crime of renouncing the right of suffrage for the colored race, and giving it over into the power of the rebels, by proposing that the numerical representation of the rebel States shall be no greater than the number of actual voters shall justify, according to the law of representation in all the States. They relieve themselves of the injustice of destroying the suffrage and protective right of the colored race by constraining the rebels to obey the constitutional law of numerical equality in their own white representation.

It is intimated by the Committee as doubtful whether Congress have any power to act directly on the subject of the vote. Yet their argument is conclusive as to the supreme authority of Congress over the rebel States. We believe that the duty of guaranteeing a Republican government involves that power, since representation by suffrage is an essential element of republicanism, and if destroyed republican freedom is destroyed. It is therefore as perfectly within the province of congressional authority to establish and secure suffrage for the colored race, as for the white, since without this there can be no republican government. But whether it were so or not, it is certain that if Congress have the right to recommend an alteration of the Constitution against the colored race, they have precisely the same right to have recommended it in their favor. If the Committee could report it expedient to alter the Constitution so as to give the States the right of disfranchising the blacks, they could also have reported in favor of an amendment forbidding any State from ever disfranchising any citizen of the United States on account of the color of the skin. The Committee had their choice. They have preferred to report in favor of disfranchising the blacks and giving the power of such disfranchisement to the rebels, and for that purpose to all the States. They have

done that which is set down in the Word of God and is felt in the common conscience of mankind to be a profound baseness and criminality; they have administered justice out of respect to persons, making that respect the foundation of legislation, and that too in its lowest and most insolent form, respect to the color of the skin. For the whole scope of this proposed legislation is in regard to the colored race, and the only reason for its introduction and peculiarity is that they are colored; and the effect of the proposed amendment is to render constitutional what otherwise would have been contrary to the Constitution, namely, the taking away by the rebel States of the right to vote from the colored race in those States on account of the color of the skin.

And this has not been done without knowing what they were doing, not without distinct choice and preference. The right of the colored race to suffrage was demonstrated and insisted on, with great power of argument and eloquence of appeal, as equal to that of the whites. Who, not an idiot or a villain, could deny it? Forms of amendment were proposed, and just bills presented, recognizing and securing that right, and forbidding its ever being taken away on account of color. Messrs. Sumner, Stevens and Kelley, among others, have presented plans of reconstruction, unexceptionable, based on equal justice to the colored race as to the whites; but for that very reason they have been rejected, and the votes of Congress have been concentrated upon the injustice.

And certainly a more thoroughly considered, deliberate, and needless act of injustice was never committed. And this demoralizing proposition is now made to the Legislatures and people of all the States of the Union, to alter the organic law of government so as to disfranchise the whole colored race, so as to rob five million colored citizens of the United States of the right of representation if the States please, that is, if the white people of the States please; for the question of their own moral assassination is not to be presented to the colored race themselves, as though they had any interest in it or any right to adjudicate upon it; but the white race are assumed and presupposed to be the only judges. The Committee proceed upon this assumption. They have not intimated the opinion that the colored race are any portion of the people of the States in such a sense as to have any right in the government, but their proposed legislation is based on the assumption that they are not, but that only the white race are the people.

In proposing to submit the question of suffrage to the people of the States, they necessarily exclude the colored people, since to submit the question to them would be to acknowledge beforehand the fact of their right to representation and the vote. But the imagination is not entertained of any colored persons being permitted to vote upon the question of their own disfranchisement by white persons. The Committee in the arrangement proposed would seem to have been grounded in the opinion that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect. The question relating to their dearest interests are given to the white race alone, as being the people of the States, to settle.

EUROPE TO AMERICA.

ADDRESS FROM MAZZINI TO THE FRIENDS OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES IN AMERICA, AND THE REPLY.

We have already referred in our columns to a letter addressed by Mazzini, in the name of the friends of republican principles in Europe, to the friends of republican principles in America, as well as to the reply which has been made to this address. We give to-day the two addresses and some of the signatures to the American address.

LETTER FROM MAZZINI.

To our Friends in the United States:

If it is true that duties are in proportion to power, new duties have arisen for the United States. The power of the United States, not only in the great American continent, but in Europe, is—since the war and abolition of slavery—immense. You can now be, and therefore must be, for the good of your own country and of mankind, a leading and initiating power. And to fulfil that duty you have only to represent within your geographical limits and abroad the principle of your national life.

The principle of your life is the republican principle; the principle toward which progressive Europe tends, and which, avowed or latent, determines all European struggles.

Throughout and beyond Europe a mighty battle is fought between States constituted by kings in the most arbitrary way, and nationalities pointed out by the wishes and wants of populations—between a republican belief and monarchical interests. You must step forward and take your share in the battle. It is God's battle.

A nation lives a two-fold life—an inward and an outward life—the manifestations of the same principle in two different zones. There is a period—historically the first one in the life of people—in which a nation must exclusively think of constituting herself. This period is, for you, now completed. The vitality and strength of your nation have been lately put out of doubt. A new period is beginning for you. By the admiring sympathies and expectations of all progressive Europe you are called to assert yourselves before kings and peoples, and to accomplish a task for the general advance of mankind. Monarchical powers are bound together for the furtherance of their views. It is high time that, abandoning a system of isolation which implies an unworthy feeling of inferiority, republicans should be everywhere allied. Is not ours a belief? And is not a belief essentially propagandist? The alliance of which we speak, is, moreover, not only a duty and a glorious moral task, but a necessity, a defensive measure for the United States.

We have only to point to Mexico. The bold step taken there by Louis Napoleon is only the beginning of an aggressive policy which will not be abandoned. It already enlists Spain. It endeavors, although unsuccessfully, to enlist England. You are too powerful to not be felt dangerous, and, depend upon it, no attempt shall be spared from European despotism to weaken, damage, dismember you, if possible. Will you allow despotism to choose its own ground and hour? Even then, and alone, you, no doubt, would conquer; but with heavy sacrifices of American blood, which ought to be spared, and of American gold, which ought to be better applied. By a timely brotherly alliance with the European Republican party, you would avert the danger, strike the evil at the root, accomplish a sacred mission toward Europe, promote the triumph of rights, truth and justice, and lay down the foundation of a future moral, political, and commercial era for your own country. The map of Europe must be redrawn. Old States will vanish, young nations come to life, and they will acknowledge with special ties of grateful friendship the help tendered to them in their times of struggle.

Our envoy will, if these views are approved, explain to you our aspirations, hopes and wishes.

For the E. R. Committee.
Undersigned, JOSEPH MAZZINI (L. S.)
London, December, 1865.

THE REPLY.

To the Friends of Republican Principles in Europe:

As allegiance to the principles for which a people strive is never shaken by their success, we trust that you will confide in the assurance that the conflict of arms which crowned American institutions with the emancipation of a race, did not diminish the national devotion to human rights.

We are insensible neither to the responsibilities of our accumulated power, nor to the proportionably increased consequence of our example. Our principles directed the struggle which we made, and to them we attribute the victory. Their cause is universal, and their success everywhere is enhanced by their triumph here.

Never regardless of the destinies of Europe, in the light of our recent national achievement, we contemplate with heightened interest the condition of its peoples, and sympathize more intensely with their efforts.

Diplomatic expedients, though by no means contributing to cardinal truths, very often corroborate, by enforcing them; and we assuredly shall feel none the less anxious for the overthrow of the despotisms of Europe, because their catastrophe would precipitate the downfall of their feeble representative in Mexico. But our attention to the salutary rules of national conduct, impressed with European authority, has been relaxed by the influence of European example. When, to aggrandize privileges at the expense of equality, the dictators of the laws of national non-intervention violate them, no attribute of justice requires the friends of liberty to be any longer restrained from assailing the aggressors. The nation that invades the popular sanctity of another, abandons the shield of national neutrality, and its interior polity becomes not only the subject of censure, but the object of correction. The American republic will never tolerate the imposition of dynastic rule on territory conterminous with its own.

We are not unconscious of the benefits to the cause of republican government in Europe resulting from the lessons of the late American war. At no period of our history was the efficacy of union to preserve popular rights rejected or doubted. But, whether a government founded in the relations of the federal condition, and dependent on an alliance of its parts, was adequate to union, has never been unquestioned. Now, our illustrious standards authenticate the national doctrine, that to the permanance of union, a government of the whole is indispensable. Respect for the authority of this momentous truth will not fail to recommend it to your attention, and compliance with it will happily remove from European progress the obstructions of divided counsels, and direct upon it the weight of its natural unity.

We believe that the knowledge which enlightens public opinion has been diffused with superior energy by the fame of our success. Your theories were instantaneously enlightened by our facts, and are now glowing in myriads of brightened hearts, profuse with hope and joy. We foresee proportionate relief from this to your labors to propagate republican ideas, and their corresponding accession to the transcendent necessities of organization.

Here, in this impregnable fortress of freedom raised by the millions, and consecrated by their sufferings and blood, their survivors hold the guardian vigil of republican principles. For the nations, wherever oppressed by arbitrary rule, and the people everywhere divinely instinct with human rights, they cherish sympathy and collect support. These are the duties of men; as citizens, they are amenable to others.

The community of nations is the subject of international law, and the government which is embraced by it is necessarily submitted to its restraints. Store of diplomacy has been expended upon the sacred obligations of national neutrality, and the national career is considered unsafe that is regardless of it. But Americans accept the lessons of a higher sanction. Washington recommended in farewell words that they "have as little political connection as possible" with foreign nations; and Jefferson enumerated among the essential principles of our government, "peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." These words indicate an inviolable rule of personal obligation to refrain from every act liable to charge our government with an infraction of national neutrality.

In the unobtrusive capacity, therefore, of individuals, heeding well the dignity, and careful of the honor of their government, we respond to the appeal of our brothers in Europe.

We have initiated an organized association for the purposes we have avowed. Soon affiliated societies will multiply, and we hope that ere long the American voice will reach you, in the assuring tones of American liberty.

E. A. STANSBURY,
JOHN COCHRANE,
F. A. CONKLING,
RUSH C. HAWKINS,
SINCLAIR TOUSEY,
Special Committee.

The gentlemen whose names are appended, have signified their sympathy with and approval of the principles of the response of the New York Special Committee, to the address received from Europe.

WM. C. BRYANT,	W. E. DODGE,†
HORACE GREELEY,	J. B. GRINNELL,†
N. P. BANKS,†	THADDEUS STEVENS,†
HENRY WILSON,*	JOHN A. KASSON,†
JAMES R. DOOLITTLE,*	HENRY T. BLOW,†
B. F. WADE,*	SCHUYLER COLFAX,†
E. B. WASHBURNE,†	GODLOVE S. ORTH,†
BURT VAN HORN,†	JNO. A. BINGHAM,†
ROSWELL HART,†	WM. D. KELLEY,†
JAMES M. ASHLEY,†	GILMAN MARSTON,†
THOMAS D. ELIOT,†	M. HARDING,†
JAMES F. WILSON,†	SAMUEL L. WARNER,†
WM. LAWRENCE,†	S. M. CULLOM,†
A. J. ROGERS,†	A. J. KUYKENDALL,†
R. P. SPALDING,†	ALEX. RAMSAY,*
HALBERT E. PAINE,†	J. M. HOWARD,*
ROSCOE CONKLING,†	JAMES W. NYE,*
OAKES AMES,†	GEORGE L. STEARNS,
F. A. PIKE,†	SYDNEY H. GAY,
J. M. BROOMALL,†	GERRIT SMITH,
E. C. INGERSOLL,†	THURLOW WEED,
T. W. FERRY,†	JAMES L. CAMP,
WM. WINDOM,†	FRANCIS W. BIRD,
HENRY J. RAYMOND,†	CHARLES S. WILSON,
J. BIDWELL,†	CHARLES W. SLACK,
B. C. COOK,†	J. MCKAYE,
LEVI UNDERWOOD,	

Ex-Lieut.-Gov., Burlington, Vt.

*—U. S. Senator.
†—Member of the U. S. House of Representatives.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

An Important Suffrage League has been formed in Boston, the first meeting of which was presided over by Gov. Bullock, on Thursday last. We hail the formation of this society as the first organized movement to carry forward the principles underlying the late contest of armed forces, to their complete victory—to take them up at the place where Lincoln fell, and push them on to the point where he would have carried them. We need similar clubs and leagues all over the land, in every town, village and hamlet, as vehement and persistent as the old anti-slavery societies, and never resting in their efforts until that last vestige of slavery—the disfranchisement of American citizens on account of color—shall be swept from the United States. The fact that one-eighth of the American people are still treated as political pariahs, is quite enough to stimulate the efforts of all true Republicans. If this fact be not sufficient, let it be borne in mind that these disfranchised people are among the most loyal classes of the country, certainly the most loyal of the South, and that whatever wealth the cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar plantations have built up for the country, is due to their labor. The right of suffrage is their right as well as that of any honorable co-worker of the proper age and education in our national bee-hive. As long as they are deprived of this right they continue to suffer from the consequences of slavery, and it is our duty as a Christian nation, both as a matter of atonement for our past sins against this class of our fellow-citizens, and as a matter of proper care and regard for their present and future usefulness, to attend immediately to their obtaining the suffrage.

The consequences of former compromises with great principles should deter us from attempting again to patch up an artificial peace by denying an incontestible right. So long as there is one class of men wronged by the nation, there cannot be peace. We ask for the freedmen the same rights which belong to all other freemen in this country. There can be no regeneration in the South without the suffrage of the black man, and no end of the slavery question until it is secured. It is obviously the duty of the same societies which did so much to rouse the public sentiment against slavery, to awaken the dormant conscience of Congress on the question of impartial suffrage. Let us have, therefore, suffrage meetings and associations everywhere; let the land resound with their appeals on behalf of the political rights of the loyal masses of the South. Let those who are tired out in the service of liberty, and those who are untiring in the cause of slavery, equally learn that the end is not yet—that though the war is over the country will not bow down to the golden calf, while any portion of the loyal people are denied their rights.—*Chicago Tribune.*

NORTHERN AND ENGLISH CAPITAL IN THE SOUTH.

Mr. THOMAS W. CONWAY, former Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the State of Louisiana, made a lengthy report to the New York Chamber of Commerce a few days ago, on the subject of introducing Northern and English capital into the Southern States, to aid in developing the country, and especially to be employed in raising cotton. Shortly after Mr. Conway was removed from the position of Assistant Commissioner, last October, he made an arrangement with parties in New York and England to proceed to the latter country and organize a company for the purpose of introducing English capital into the Southern States, working their cotton plantations and employing the freedmen. But on further consideration, it was deemed best to put it off another year, as the season had become too far advanced for successful operations. Since that time the state of affairs has so much changed in the South that he deemed any immediate investment of Northern or English capital there to be inexpedient.

In writing on this subject, Mr. Conway states that there was a vast number of people at the North who were anxious to invest their capital in the South; but, unfortunately for the South, her temper toward Northern men had not sufficiently abated, nor was there a sufficient restoration of law and order to justify their settling there at present. While many good men of the South were ready to welcome Northern settlers, the great majority of them, including the mob element, which greatly preponderated, was strongly opposed to their presence, and the general conviction became prevalent that Northern capital was not secure where the Federal bayonets were not at hand to protect it. Northern money was welcome enough, but Northern men to control it were decidedly repugnant to their taste. Many of the Northern men who went there with capital will return as soon as this year's crop is gathered. Mr. Conway also states that the Southern people are looking and laboring for the extermination of the colored race from the country. Gov. Wells of Louisiana told him not long ago that he hoped very soon to see the blacks driven out of the country, and he believed that they would disappear at an early day. Gov. Sharkey of Mississippi repeated the same opinion. The wish is not only the father of the thought, but of the act. Mr. Conway thinks that the cotton crop will be a million bales less than if enterprise had not been so paralyzed.

These opinions are adopted by British capitalists. They regard the people of the South as unsettled, unhappy and hostile to the national authority, that life and property is insecure, and that the influence of the local vagrant laws over the freedmen will make their labor uncertain. The report closes as follows:

"I may here state that I have consulted several of the Presidents of Companies organized for the purpose of encouraging and assisting Southern planters and farmers, and that they inform me that the infatuation and exasperation of the Southern people, their persistent hatred of Northern men, and their injustice to the freedmen have, as a class, in their judgment, also rendered efforts comparatively fruitless and nugatory, until the mind of the South shall have reached a more settled and kindly state, or the chapter of events have, in God's wise and good Providence, evolved new and more promising conditions for the classes that toil and the classes that rule throughout the Southern portion of our common country."—*Boston Journal.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1866.

FOURTH OF JULY!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

UNDER the auspices of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the friends of Universal Freedom and Impartial Suffrage (never more anxious than now for the consummation of these interests) will hold a mass meeting at the well-known GROVE in FRAMINGHAM, on WEDNESDAY, the FOURTH OF JULY next. Can we better use this sacred day than by meeting to discuss these great interests and rights of humanity, perilled as they are by the pending compromises on the part of our government?

Let our friends, then, rally on this occasion, under this motive, and with the assurance that they will hear eloquent appeals from such speakers as WENDELL PHILLIPS, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, HENRY C. WRIGHT, JOHN T. SARGENT, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, HENRY GWYNN, late of Savannah, Ga., WM. WELLS BROWN, and others.

Trains will be run on the Boston and Worcester railroad and branches as follows: Leave Boston at 9 15 and Worcester at 9 45 a. m., stopping at way stations. Also from Worcester at 9 25, an express train; and from Millbury, Milford, Northboro, Marlboro, by regular trains.

Fares to the Grove and back from Boston, Worcester, and Millbury, one dollar for adults, and fifty cents for children. From Grafton, Newton, and West Newton, ninety cents for adults, and forty-five cents for children. From Milford, Braggville, Metcalf's, Marlboro, Wellesley, Grantville, Cordaville, Southville, and Westboro, seventy-five cents for adults, and forty cents for children. From Natick, Holliston, and Ashland, fifty cents for adults, and thirty cents for children. From Northboro, eighty cents for adults, forty-five cents for children. From East Holliston, forty cents for adults, twenty-five cents for children. Returning, leave the Grove for Boston, Milford, and Worcester at five p. m., and for way stations, above Framingham (except Westboro), by regular trains.

Price of admission to the GROVE, fifteen cents for adults, and ten cents for children. Those who come by railroad with *excursion tickets*, admitted *free*. No fireworks allowed within the Grove enclosure. The house at the Grove will be open for refreshments.

☞ In case of rain, the meeting will be held in "Waverly Hall," opposite the Railroad Depot, at South Framingham.

JOHN T. SARGENT,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
HENRY O. STONE,
} Committee of Arrangements.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Secretary.

THE CONGRESSIONAL FRAUD.

THE test issue in national affairs is the enfranchisement of the negro. In and out of Congress this has been well understood for months past. The President's treachery, which became apparent last Summer and Autumn, filled the country with painful suspense. The assembling of Congress was eagerly longed for. The brave words for justice and liberty of many noble hearted men in both Houses of Congress are still fresh in the minds of our readers. Our pigeon-holes are well filled with speeches from Washington, which we would gladly have helped to disseminate by publishing, if we had had room. A noble step forward for impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia was taken by the House. Where now is that excellent bill? Does any one deny the complete jurisdiction of Congress over the District? Why has President Johnson not been afforded even the opportunity to veto the bill? The colored people of the District, as throughout the South, were the truest friends of the government in the hour of its sorest need. The resident whites of the District have scarcely been decently loyal with the presence of the military. Just now much is said of the renewed strength and unity of the Republican party. How has it been attained? The colored men of the District of Columbia can truthfully answer, "By bad faith and broken promises." Of what value is that party unity, purchased by a deliberate, conscious sacrifice of the republican principle, the equality of all men before the law? What we thus complain of in the action of Congress towards impartial suffrage in the District of Columbia is not less true of its dealing with the question in the insurrectionary States.

The proposed Constitutional Amendment, which the States are urged speedily to ratify, we pronounce a flagrant, cruel cheat, unworthy of the men from whom it emanated. The first section is unexceptional, with the ordinary rules of interpretation. The second section is a license offered by Congress to rebels and unrepentant slaveholders, for a certain price, to disfranchise, and practically to re-enslave millions of the colored citizens of the nation, solely because of complexion. In proposing to add to the Constitution, a matter quite independent of the official action of President Johnson, it was just as competent for Congress to make a positive prohibition of the denial of the franchise to the blacks as to offer a distinct constitutional license for such injustice, which the present proposed amendment does.

We understand the apologetic explanation that "it is the best thing attainable," "that Congress has no power to interfere with suffrage in the States," etc. We do not at all accept the explanation that it is the best thing attainable. An amendment which should guarantee impartial suffrage (if that was necessary to authorize Congress to act in the premises), would be far more likely to receive the hearty, enthusiastic ratification of the loyal masses of the North (and of the loyal masses of the South) than the one now pending. With the *habeas corpus* still suspended, and an army, *including eight regiments of black soldiers*, still organized for service, to keep unrepentant rebels on their good behavior, we scout the idea of want of jurisdiction on the part of Congress to give suffrage to the blacks.

It is fully competent for Congress to extend, or to curtail suffrage in the reorganization of the insurrectionary States, according to its own best judgment. What President Johnson has done amiss Congress may undo, and should have promptly undone at the opening of the session. We agree with Mr. Thaddeus Stevens in holding President Johnson responsible for fearful guilt in obstructing the pathway of justice and impartial freedom. But while we would discriminate as to the motives of the men and recognize a difference in spirit and intentions, we hold the defection of Congress as a body not less fatal to the cause of genuine democracy in this country than the treachery of the President. President Johnson has had the merit, at least for the past few months, of great frankness. He has forewarned the nation by his speeches and his conduct. Congress has won the confidence of the people by brave words and by some excellent legislation. In the new amendment is embodied a proposition as false in principle as the compromises of 1787, and it is insidiously introduced with fine words, and coupled with other things good in themselves, and is calculated and intended to deceive superficial observers. This it is from which the disintegrated party is again to become strong. To demonstrate the injustice of thus committing the political welfare of the blacks to the control of their former masters we need quote only the testimony of radical Senators and Representatives, whose names are recorded in favor of the amendment. We do not wonder that Henry J. Raymond should vote for it. He has been steadily opposed to giving suffrage to the blacks, and he can safely rest assured that, left with the rebellious whites of the South, it will not be done. We do wonder that Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Judge Kelley, Gov. Boutwell, and others we might name, should have allowed themselves to go on record in favor of a proposition which, personally, we believe they heartily detest.

The demoralizing effect of such "policy" upon the public mind is apparent in the altered tone of the press. Radical Republican journals not a few have ably advocated impartial suffrage; but, with the single honorable exception of the New York *Independent*, we do not know of a journal of influence, from Boston to St. Louis, which has given an earnest protest against this proposed surrender of the political rights of the negro into the hands of his rebel master. The N. Y. *Tribune* goes for the measure, hoping in some way, by the right sort of an enabling act, to escape its consequences. The *Nation*, which originally promised something better, approves Gov. Curtin's proposition to have all the Northern Legislatures assemble and at once ratify the Amendment, "so that by the Fourth of July the work of reconstruction may be complete." We regret not to be able to except the Detroit *Post* and Chicago *Tribune* at the West.

The party which, for its own preservation, consents that a race, on account of color, may be thus cheated out of political rights, inalienable and well-earned, will find itself cheated in the end by its unworthy manœuvring. There remains yet the opportunity for Congress, before adjourning, to pass such a reconstruction bill as will guarantee a republican form of government to the insurrectionary States, and secure impartial suffrage, without a constitutional amendment. The pending amendment once ratified, Congress will have tied its own and the nation's hands as effectually as did the Compromises of 1787.

THE BUREAU IN NORTH CAROLINA.

SINCE our last article was written, Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton have published another report, in which they give the results of their operations in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Before we examine that, let us go back to that first extraordinary document, by which the President's Commissioners undertook to abolish the Bureau in North Carolina. As they wanted only one kind of evidence, they were able to get over the ground rapidly, and they did, in fact, spend about ten days in their examination. But as it might have broken the force of their blow had they explained the true state of the case, Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton were careful to say that they had made a "thorough and impartial investigation," and had "visited all the towns and cities of any importance, and the headquarters of each district of the Bureau in Virginia and North Carolina." If Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton had ever shown as much courage in the field as they did in making this statement, they might have won a great military reputation. There is something splendid in the audacity which thus coolly puts forth an explicit affirmation which they must have known would be contradicted and disproved. There are forty-one districts and subdistricts in charge of the Bureau in North Carolina. Of this number, Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton visited exactly six. The headquarters of the central district, including nineteen counties, were not inspected, nor those of the sub-district of Raleigh, including four counties, nor many another. Is it possible to believe any charge brought against honorable officers by men who are found guilty of this astounding falsehood in respect to their own official conduct?

Gens. Steedman and Fullerton allege that this investigation was "thorough and impartial." In reply to that, Gen. Whittlesey, the Commissioner for North Carolina, states they were present in his office about half an hour, that his books and papers were freely offered for their inspection, but that they declined to make any examination of his method of conducting the business of the Bureau, or of its finances. Capt. Almy states that he is superintendent of nineteen counties, but "no examination by them as to the business or records of my office was made. No interview between them and myself took place with reference to any inquiry as to the situation of Freedmen's affairs within the limits of this extensive district." Of the eight subdistricts included in the Central, with a commissioned officer in charge of each, but one was inquired into. The officer in charge of the Raleigh District, one of the most important in the State, writes that "neither of the inspecting Generals approached me or sent for me." How then did Gens. Steedman and Fullerton arrive at an opinion on the management of the Bureau?

They took a much more compendious method, and one undoubtedly better adapted to produce the result they desired. They took the *rebel* opinion of the Bureau. They found numbers of ex-slave-owners whom the Bureau had compelled to make or keep contracts with their former slaves, and who were quite ready to repeat or to invent any quantity of scandal about its officers. All this went into the note books of the inspectors. They heard that this agent had sold four barrels of government pork, and that had exchanged white sugar for brown, and a third had failed to account for clothing which he had disposed of. Some of the agents had leased plantations and were working them on their own account. It may be presumed Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton knew this was done by order of Gen. Howard; at any rate they could have known by inquiry, and were bound to inquire; but they suppressed the fact of Gen. Howard's authority, and published Gen. Whittlesey and his subordinates to the world as a gang of speculators in land, swindling the freedmen out of their wages. Then they took one step further, and charged certain Bureau officers with shooting down a freedman, and we are thus carried by regular gradations through a catalogue of crimes extending from prevarication and petty larceny up to homicide, coupled with an attempt to conceal the facts. It is not necessary to express an opinion on this latter charge, further than to quote Gen. Whittlesey's statement that the person concerned in the shooting was not an officer of the Bureau—that it is not certain whether the man was killed or not, and that the case was, at the time of Gens. Steedman and Fullerton's visit, undergoing investigation by order of Gen. Whittlesey himself.

Concerning the charges against Capt. Glavis, who was represented as dishonest and incompetent, Gen. Whittlesey writes: "Mr. Glavis has been more bitterly opposed and abused than any officer in the department. On one occasion he was threatened with mob violence for defending the character of lady teachers of freedmen, who had been assailed in the public prints. He may have acted in some instances rashly; but he has shown great energy and diligence in the discharge of his duties, and his honesty I have had no reason to doubt. All the government property transferred to him has been properly accounted for, and the retained copies of vouchers could have been seen by the Commissioners in his office." The sales of clothing belonging to the Freedmen's Aid Society were made by authority of its Secretary, and were duly accounted for. In addition to which, we find the following letter, dated Goldsboro, May 19:

"Loyal men here, among whom are those who in the Union army opposed the rebellion, agree that much praise is due the officers in charge of Bureau affairs throughout the State, and especially to Chaplain Glavis, the agent at this place, who, under trying circumstances has brought order out of chaos, and supplanted with confidence and comparative comfort the doubt and abject suffering among the freedmen, notwithstanding the fact that some of his measures and decisions may not have been in accordance with the criminal code of North Carolina, enacted during the rebellion. We regard Chaplain Glavis as an intelligent, energetic, and faithful officer."

The above is signed by the Mayor, Chief of Police, and a number of other persons in official stations, and approved by the United States officer commanding the post.

There is, we believe, but one officer in North Carolina who escaped the attacks of Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton. The Rev. Horace James, known through the war as a most capable and estimable officer, is one of those assailed on the same sort of rebel testimony. Where the evidence of negroes is taken, it is taken as a matter of form, and wholly ignored in the report. Our readers remember that remarkable assembly at Wilmington, in which the freedmen with solemn emphasis told the Commissioners that their sole hope of protection rested in the continuance of the Bureau. The negroes everywhere were unanimous in their opinion, yet Gens. Steedman and Fullerton on their ten days acquaintance with its affairs, send home to the President a recommendation that the Bureau be abolished! It is wasting space to argue the absurdity of such an opinion or to speak of it as if it were fairly arrived at. We will add only the conclusion of Gen. Whittlesey's report:

"They make no mention of more than ten thousand (10,000) cases of 'difficulty between freedmen or freedmen and whites' that have been adjusted. They give no credit to the officers who have found employment for many thousands of destitute refugees, and homes for many hundreds of orphans, and medical attendance and comforts for more than twenty thousand persons. They say nothing of the protection and assistance afforded in organizing and maintaining one hundred and twenty-one schools, with one hundred and fifty-two teachers and ten thousand six hundred and six scholars.

"The *real work* of the Bureau, which has taxed the energy and the patience of all connected with it to the utmost, they pass by unnoticed, and direct their entire efforts to the discovery of faults—and after all of their fancied discoveries, they make no distinct and open charges, but content themselves with insinuations and conjectures which seem intended to defame officers whose record has hitherto been honorable, and who in no respect are inferior to the 'Commissioners' but in rank."

—We know Gen. Whittlesey very well. He left a Professor's chair in Bowdoin College to go to the war as a chaplain of a Maine regiment, was soon after assigned to duty on Gen. Howard's staff, and was with that officer as Adjutant-General and Chief-of-Staff during most of the following years. Both in character and in ability he stood among the first officers of the army, and we believe him utterly incapable of committing, or of tolerating in his subordinates, the offences with which he is charged by the Inquisitor Generals of Mr. Johnson.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.—We invite the attention of our New England readers to the notice of the meeting to be held at Framingham on the fourth of July next. At the present juncture of affairs in the nation the meeting will be one of great importance, and, with the speakers announced, cannot fail to be one of deep and stirring interest.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.—We print elsewhere an able and critical review of the Report of the Reconstruction Committee, and of the proposed Constitutional Amendment, from the pen of the Rev. Dr. CHEEVER. We invite special attention to his clear and searching analysis of this proposed "plan" of Reconstruction.

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD was established in 1840. Its history of more than a quarter of a century has proved THE STANDARD to be a model paper. Among the best writers in the country have contributed to its pages; and those on whom its editorship rested are well known as men of superior ability as writers, and moral worth as exemplary citizens. As its title indicates, the paper has ever and consistently opposed slavery. It is now working manfully, since the abolition of chattel slavery, for equal political rights; and as its first quarter of a century's existence witnessed the overthrow of that relic of barbarism, we are fully persuaded that THE STANDARD will not have to labor another twenty-five years before the enfranchisement of the colored man is an accomplished fact throughout the nation. Under the editorship of Aaron M. Powell THE STANDARD loses none of its well-known ability and clearness for the right.—*Massillon (Ohio) Independent.*

PERSONAL.

Victor Hugo, it is rumored, has lost £15,000 by the failure of a London bank.

It is understood that Mr. Julian is not unlikely to be the successor of Henry S. Lane in the U. S. Senate.

Gov. Burnside has accepted the Presidency of the Rhode Island Locomotive Works, a large corporation lately engaged in the manufacture of Burnside rifles.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond expects to sail for Europe on the 7th of July, to join his family there, and spend some time on the continent.

John Minor Botts has accepted the invitation to deliver the oration before the City government of Baltimore on the 4th of July.

Lafayette S. Foster, the President of the U. S. Senate, is a descendant of Miles Standish, the famous Puritan soldier.

Attorney-General John H. Martindale has accepted an invitation to deliver the Fourth of July oration before the Young Men's Association at Albany.

Rev. Dr. Wm. H. Furness will deliver the address before the graduating class of the Harvard divinity school.

Gen. Alcorn, United States Senator from Mississippi, has applied for a teacher's situation in a Freedmen's school at Freas Point.

Rev. J. T. Headley, the author, is engaged on the personal reminiscences and official action of Gen. L. C. Baker, the chief detective of the War Department.

The mother of Hon. Charles Sumner died at her residence on Hancock street, Boston, on Friday, at the advanced age of 81 years.

Gen. Sherman, in a recent visit at Minneapolis, made a pleasant little speech and was about to retire when cries of "Go on" resounded from all sides. The General added: "I have studied politicians, and have learned by imitating them to talk a few minutes without saying anything at all." The statement was received with great laughter and cheering.

Hon. Gerrit Smith is spending a few days in the city, as the guest of Gen. John Cochrane. He is still suffering from the effects of a sprained wrist, and able to write very little.

Parker Pillsbury has gone westward upon a lecturing tour, to be absent from New England, we understand, about two months. He will go as far west as Iowa, and will, we trust, be welcomed by large audiences.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* of a recent date says: "Gen. U. S. Grant, the next President of the United States, will be in Covington, on a visit to his father, in a few days."

A. T. Stewart, Esq., has agents abroad purchasing works of art for the palace which he is erecting on Fifth Avenue, New York. Powers and other sculptors have received commissions.

The Richmond *Times* says an order has been issued at Washington for the release of the notorious Dick Turner, one of the commanders of Libby Prison during the rebellion, and who was distinguished for his cruelty to Union soldiers.

Rev. Wm. Blythe, a Methodist preacher at Greensboro, Ga., undertook to beat a negro in the old-fashioned style, a few days ago; but the negro fractured Mr. Blythe's skull with a heavy stone, so that he is not expected to survive.

Edwin Forrest, the tragedian, purposes, on his return from California, to carry out a long contemplated scheme by founding and endowing in Philadelphia a home for retired actors, on a large estate he has purchased near that city.

Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D., Professor at Harvard College, has sailed for Europe to attend the meeting of archæologists at Antwerp, and to make the tour of the Continent. He will also visit the Holy Land, intending to be absent about eight months.

Mr. Seward has finally promised to attend the inauguration of the Douglas Monument at Chicago, and the President will also be present if Congress adjourns in season. The occasion is going to be turned to political advantage by the author of "my policy," and his chief backer.

Dr. J. G. Holland, of Springfield, has accepted an invitation to deliver his poem, *Jonathan at School*, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Amherst College, on Tuesday afternoon of Commencement week. Geo. S. Hillard will deliver the oration upon the same occasion.

Dan Rice, the circus clown, is nominated as the Johnson candidate to represent the Nineteenth District of Pennsylvania. Rice has already been defeated on the Democratic ticket for the State Legislature, but is still more anxious to go to Congress and is willing to pay for it.

Capt. C. C. Richardson, formerly of the Twelfth Maine Regiment, and agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, was on the 12th attacked near Atlanta, by a man named Lightfoot, and shot twice. Richardson had commenced practising law in Thomaston, and had been ordered by Lightfoot to leave town. The wounds are expected to prove fatal.

Hon. James W. Patterson, who has just been chosen United States Senator, from New Hampshire, is described as one of the foremost men of that State, in the forty-third year of his age, and formerly Professor in Dartmouth College. He represented the Third District of New Hampshire in the Thirty-Eighth Congress, was re-elected to the present Congress, and has voted steadily, we believe, with the Radicals.

John Townsend of Edisto Island, S. C., the man who gave the Confederacy $100,000 in gold in 1861, has not been more successful in keeping his recently hired German laborers than he was in retaining his slaves. He says: "They cost me $35 each to bring them to Charleston from New York. I fed them far better than ever I thought of feeding my hands, even gave them coffee and sourkrout, when what should they do but demand butter for their bread and milk for their coffee, and the next thing the whole crowd left me."

Gen. Cass died at Detroit on the 17th inst., in the 84th year of his age. He was best known as a politician of the Democratic party. For many years he was Senator from Michigan. His last public position was that of Secretary of State under Buchanan. He withdrew from the Cabinet, rather than countenance the treachery of Buchanan at the beginning of the late war. Though he could not go with the enemies of freedom for the overthrow of the government, he did not, like Daniel S. Dickinson, make himself the power he might have been in his last days, by words of wise counsel, for the cause of impartial freedom.

Garibaldi has written the following letter to a committee of ladies in London, whose object is to aid the liberator by supporting his views for promoting the enlightenment and union of Italy, and for collecting comforts for the wounded in case of war:

DEAR LADIES: I am deeply gratified by your sympathy in the cause of my country, so nobly manifested. If I am fortunate enough to be enabled to pursue that path which will emancipate mankind from the bondage and tyranny of an impostor, it will be by the invulnerable buckler afforded me by the assistance which I receive, and the support which I derive, from the best-beloved by God of all His creatures—Woman. I am, with gratitude and affection, yours for life,

GARIBALDI.

The Emperor Don Pedro II. of Brazil continues to be especially gracious to Prof. Agassiz. While he was absent with the army operating against Paraguay, on the Rio Grande do Sol, he made a large and beautiful collection of fishes, which he has just promised to the Professor in the following note: "The fishes are to be sent to you. To you they entirely belong, for it was with this thought that I collected them. It is a slight homage that I pay to science; but I see that it was of some value in your eyes, and I shall be happy if I thus place myself partly in relations with the labors by which you will make better known the rich nature of my country."

Prof. Agassiz, with his wife, have arrived at Rio Janeiro, from the valley of the Amazon, and at a lecture given by him, the Imperial family were in attendance.

Susan B. Anthony has returned to her home in Rochester, N. Y., for a few weeks of rest prior to beginning an autumnal lecturing campaign in this State. She has been in this city for several months at work in the interest of the Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights movements. Under the auspices of the Equal Rights Association, as early as September, she will arrange for an extended series of lectures, to be given by herself and others, in different parts of the State, with especial reference to the Convention to be held next year for the revision of our State Constitution. A vigorous effort will be made, for which we bespeak the hearty cooperation of earnest men and women throughout the State, to eliminate from the Constitution the odious property qualification for colored voters, and the restrictive word "male;" to gain for negroes and women, on the claim of humanity, full recognition of citizenship.

All letters for Miss Anthony, whether personal or pertaining to the business of the Equal Rights Association, of which she is Secretary, should be addressed, until further notice, Rochester, N. Y.

IT was stated a few nights ago in the British Parliament that out of 334 borough members in England and Wales, one in every seven had been publicly charged, by petition, with the commission of bribery. It is notorious that a large proportion of these cases are hushed up or paired

THE LONGWOOD MEETING.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE recent Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends at Longwood was largely attended, spirited and interesting. The house was filled to overflowing the last two days, and hundreds were unable to gain admission. A variety of opinions was represented, but the largest liberty of expression was granted, and the discussions were characterized by kindly feeling, though earnest and pointed. "Testimonies" were adopted upon Religion, Temperance, Reconstruction, etc. The last-named testimony recognized the legal abolition of slavery, denounced President Johnson's policy, and called earnestly for the equal enfranchisement of the colored race as the only sure method of adjusting the difficulties which still agitate the country.

Theodore Tilton spoke at length in support of it, closing with an eloquent and effective plea for the enfranchisement of all classes irrespective of color or sex.

Mr. Herne of Philadelphia urged intelligence as the true basis for suffrage.

A. M. Powell spoke earnestly in behalf of impartial suffrage, without distinction of complexion or sex. He said we should not have a truly republican government until this had been attained. He accepted the judgment passed upon President Johnson, who had proved himself a traitor not to be trusted with power, but he thought there should also be some expression from the meeting criticizing the late action of Congress as embodied in the Report of the Reconstruction Committee. It had surrendered the vital point at issue with the President. The President had triumphed. He knew many noble-hearted men in Congress felt aggrieved at the result, nevertheless the majority had conceded the main principle, and we were in duty bound to hold them responsible. Congress ought at the opening of the session promptly to have authorized the holding of State Conventions for the formation of legal State governments. It ought still to do this, recognizing all loyal citizens, irrespective of color or condition.

Oliver Johnson objected to the criticism as expressed by Mr. Powell. He thought Congress had done all it possibly could to achieve the desired result. The members had taken great pains to ascertain what action they could be supported in by their constituents, and they had been assured that the people were not ready to enforce the suffrage question. They were therefore obliged to postpone the issue. It was an easy thing to say what ought to be done, but quite another thing to accomplish it. He yielded to no one in the desire to see impartial suffrage attained, but he saw the obstacles in the way, and we must wait till they can be overcome. The people, not Congress, were responsible.

Anna E. Dickinson, with her accustomed eloquence, urged the necessity of holding Congress derelict in duty in the action referred to. The one thing needful to ensure protection to the colored race was the ballot. If the President stood in the way he must be overcome. If Congress was in the way it could not be excused. Her criticisms of President Johnson were as just as they were searching. She held him responsible before God for the recent fiendish outrages committed upon the colored people of Memphis, which called for speedy atonement. Many eyes moistened with tears as she pathetically portrayed the cruelty of the nation's ingratitude in leaving the freedmen thus unprotected from the revenge of their former masters, after having accepted their heroic service in the hour of its necessity.

Giles B. Stebbins wished to bear his testimony in behalf of Congress. He had spent the Winter in Washington and he thought he knew something of its purposes. He could testify to the earnest desire of many members to secure the ballot for the colored race and their untiring efforts for this result. He could not censure them. He believed they had done all they could under the circumstances. Much had been accomplished which should encourage us to labor for the final victory so much to be desired.

Rev. H. P. Crozier thought Congress had exercised its full power in the premises. It was not its prerogative to enforce suffrage upon the States. It must leave it with the people to decide.

Mr. Tilton said the Report of the Reconstruction Committee was to be judged according to the standpoint from which we viewed it. Politically, it was an able State paper, and of a higher tone than we were wont to see. But from the moral stand-point of justice and equity it was deficient, and we must be true to our own high convictions of duty—true also to the negro in exposing its injustice.

Mrs. Frances D. Gage was in attendance and presented the claims of the freedmen.

Susan B. Anthony represented and called attention to the Equal Rights Association, advocating the equal enfranchisement of woman as well as the negro.

The generous hospitality extended by the Coxes, the Mendenhalls, the Darlingtons, and other well-known friends, will not soon be forgotton by those from abroad who were the recipients of it.

RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED AT THE EQUAL RIGHTS MEETING HELD IN BOSTON, MAY 31, 1866.

[THE following resolutions were omitted, for want of room, from the letter of our "Occasional Correspondent," last week.]

Resolved, That we have inaugurated this National Equal Rights Association to complete the work of the American revolution, to give broader meaning to the Declaration of Independence, a new definition to republicanism, and to open an era in human elevation and national advancement, leaving far behind all former attempts at a government of the people.

Resolved, That character not color, and soul not sex, are the basis of human rights and moral responsibilities. That as the right to see came with the eye, and to hear came with the ear, and to breathe with the lungs, so also did the right to a voice in the government attend the giving of those endowments which constitute a moral, responsible, and accountable being.

Whereas, Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and whereas, a voice in the choice of rulers is both the natural and constitutional mode of expressing that consent; therefore

Resolved, That whether the right of suffrage be a natural, civil, or political right, it is a sacred trust and only assurance of personal protection, older than any human constitutions, laws, or governments, and whatever government assumes to abridge the free exercise of that trust, is a high-handed despotism; and it is but mockery to assert that such exercise of power is derived from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That we demand of Congress in the name of a "republican form of government," that it provide, forthwith, for such changes in the Constitution as shall give and secure Equal Rights to a voice in the legislation and administration of the government to all men and women who are held amenable to the laws, and are taxed for their support and execution.

Resolved, That the enactment of the Civil Rights bill viewed as a progressive step toward colored suffrage and citizenship, would be a solid good, entitling Congress to the thanks of the whole people; but, that the more recent course and present apparent purpose of the whole government compels us to regard it as a substitute for suffrage and full justice, as another compromise of the freedom of the colored race, and hence we cannot but deprecate it, and must hold its authors responsible for the evils which will inevitably result from it.

Resolved, That in the general most objectionable course of Congress in the work of Reconstruction, we rejoice to record a noble exception in the act proposed by Senator Sumner of Massachusetts on the 29th inst.—the first section of which provides "That every citizen of the United States, although he may have been a slave, or is the descendent of a slave, or, by reason of race or color, has heretofore been deprived of political rights, shall, in every State and Territory, have the right to vote at all elections for members of Congress, for Presidential electors, for Representatives and Senators to State and Territorial Legislatures, for all State, county, city, town and other officers of every kind, upon the same terms and conditions, and no others, as white citizens are and may be allowed to vote; and every provision of every State and Territorial constitution, statute, resolution and ordinance, and every custom and principle of law heretofore recognized in any State or Territory, contrary to the foregoing provisions are, and shall be, null and void."

Resolved, That we hasten to express to Mr. Sumner our profound thanks for introducing a measure of full justice to the colored man; a measure which, while it does not provide for the suffrage of woman, does not, as did even his own previously proposed Constitutional Amendment by inserting the word *male*, materially or morally remove farther from her the acquisition of that right.

Resolved, That all State Constitutions which confine the franchise to "white male" citizens should be so amended as to conform to and harmonize with the United States Constitution as it now is, without restriction as to color or sex.

Resolved, That the women of fashion and wealth who hold themselves above useful labor, and despise all who perform it, do not represent the toiling masses of the women of the country; and in the senseless assertion "*I have all the rights I want*" no more speak the real feeling of the honest, earnest, hard-working, self-sustaining woman of the middle and lower classes, than did the well-fed, pampered, and petted slaves of kind masters speak for the millions tortured by the lash, when they said they preferred slavery to freedom, and would not take their liberty if they could.

[Miss Peabody's resolutions offered by Wendell Phillips.]

Whereas, it is important that some practical beginning should be made in our work, and whereas it will need an alteration of the organic law of the States to enable women to *vote*, while men have the liberty to vote for whom they will;

Resolved, That the eligibility of women to hold offices in the municipal and State governments, should be strongly urged upon the attention of those men whose moral and intellectual culture raises them above that low atmosphere of petty and selfish politics, which makes so many of the offices of government the reward of party service, instead of the meed of qualification.

Resolved, That the fact of qualified women being actually elected to serve on committees of common schools, and of the higher institutions of science and art, and as overseers of the poor, as well as State superintendents of public charities, hospitals, prisons, institutions for moral reform, of the whole range of interests from prison-discipline to public amusements, will give the most salutary impulse to the education of women, in every direction, and tend, more than anything else, to deepen character and inspire earnestness of purpose and action in other women; while, on the other hand, all these institutions will become more effective for their various ends, by reason of that practical genius of woman, which designates her to every peculiarly social function, as has been demonstrated during the past five years, in which she has taken the lead in soldiers' aid, sanitary, and educational commissions, growing out of the wants of a vast army, and the emancipation of four millions of men, women and children, in the bosom of a society hostile to them.

Resolved, That the women to whom the serious circumstances of the country have revealed more general relations to the human race than they were before feelingly aware that they sustained—who were, in the season of "the great uprising," "caught up into the vision of principles," *should be entreated* "to keep the heights" they have found themselves "competent to gain," by continuing to interest themselves in general social duty, in the cause of public education, public morality, and public health; seeing they have discovered and proved, that a certain kind of public life is not incompatible with the discharge of all the duties pertaining to the more private circle of home, but rather has given to these latter a sublimer significance.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, June 17, 1866.

THE general acquiescence in the proposed Constitutional Amendment on the part of the Republican press, is a lamentable illustration of the facility with which men subordinate principle to expediency. Some that were ardent in protesting against any settlement ignoring direct negro suffrage, are now equally zealous in commending this measure, and wooing public sanction in its behalf. They bestow upon it their approval without a sign of dissatisfaction. In it they seem to see nothing but what is good and worthy, meriting the applause of mankind. Encomium is lavished upon it, and admiration for its excellence in some cases is painfully extravagant.

The *Press* of this city is particularly well satisfied with the new Article. Its claims hitherto urged for equal and exact justice are forgotten. The wise and noble demand for universal suffrage has given place to excessive laudation of this specimen of patchwork, wherein there is greater solicitude shown for the health and life of the Republican party, than for the triumph of just principles.

Mr. Forney would deceive his readers into the belief that this measure is all that is wanted, all that is required, and all that is necessary for insuring final peace, safety and tranquillity. In one of his letters he represents it as being the very embodiment of essential principles, using language that would warrant us in believing it to be the ultimate attainment of legislative perfection. He regards it as the promise of "such a reconstruction as will remedy all evils, and adjust all inequalities forever and forever." Such an unjustified flourish is designed to over-color the merits of the proposition, and exaggerate its importance in the minds of certain people, whose influence for accomplishing better results becomes thereby enfeebled.

When Mr. Forney speaks of "union and harmony among the great Republican party," he betrays his chief and primary concern. Justice, when its unqualified advocacy will hinder party success, is either neglected or rudely trifled with, and often there is no scruple in evading its simplest behests for political ends, by men whose professions and consciences are thereby violated. This proposed amendment is shaped with especial care for maintaining that "union and harmony" spoken of by Mr. Forney, and so fashioned that it shall preclude detriment to the welfare of his party. In the face of this legislative makeshift, this mere stopgap which is falsely declared to be vivified with true principles, this gentleman assures us that "the Republican party has no reservations, and makes no exceptions in the purely democratic purposes of its broad and comprehensive platform." Such a tribute to the character of the party is transparent with absurdity and untruth. Its cardinal purpose is to secure itself against the diminution of its own strength and we see how readily it will jeopardize things "purely democratic" in order to promote this object. A party must have more virtue, more sincere love of justice, a better infusion of truth and liberality of principle than the Republican organization can boast of, before we shall see that period hoped for by Thaddeus Stevens, when "the intelligent, pure, and just men of this republic, true to their professions and their consciences, will have so remodeled all our institutions as to have freed them from every vestige of human oppression, of inequality of rights, and that no distinction will be tolerated in this purified republic but what arises from merit and conduct."

Gov. Curtin has addressed letters to the Governors of the different States, recommending them to convene their Legislatures with the view of ratifying the new amendment. Whilst this haste is manifested in behalf of the measure, would it not be well to take the necessary initial steps towards securring a free ballot? In some States the accomplishment of such a work will probably be long delayed, but the sooner a beginning is made the better. Any effort in that direction will have its proper tendency to fit the public mind for the event, and remove the barriers that block the difficult way.

The street-car outrages continue. Recently Mrs. Amelia Miles, a colored woman, and president of a Soldier's Aid Society, was ejected from a car by its rude conductor, who was promptly arrested for committing the cruel act, and bound over to answer a charge of assault and battery. The *Evening Bulletin*, in referring to the matter, says: "It is one of the anomalies of this period of civilization and freedom, that a worthy woman, who devotes herself to good deeds, cannot be permitted to use a public conveyance because her skin is dark. She must walk for miles through the hot sun or the pelting storm, while rowdies, thieves, drunkards, and bad characters of all kinds, who happen to be white, are permitted to use the street cars." The *Bulletin* has the power to exert a wholesome influence upon the public mind in regard to this matter, and by co-operating with the other city papers of liberal and righteous proclivities, might effect much in removing the wicked prejudice of which the people of color are the victims. It contents itself, however, with an occasional allusion to the persecution they suffer, now and then giving publicity to such cases as the above. Why do not the *Bulletin*, the *Press*, and kindred sheets, aid in firing the popular mind with an indignation and a consciousness of duty due to outraged justice and humanity, that will lead at once to the discontinuance of this shameful oppression?

Now that League Island has been accepted by the House of Representatives as a gift from this city to the nation for a Navy Yard for iron-clad vessels, some anxiety is felt regarding the action of the Senate. The two individuals who represent our State in that body are not inclined to waste any zeal in behalf of the proceeding. But their influence and weight should not be too highly estimated. Their indifference need occasion no alarm whatever. Pity it is we have not two men there whose presence could be appreciated, and whose importance could be made manifest to common minds. Rarely is Pennsylvania fortunate in her representation in the Senate. Mr. Cowan will never be spoiled by flattery, or injured by praise. He is not a stranger to such compliments as the following, taken from a country newspaper, which indicates the esteem with which he is regarded. Having received from the honorable gentleman one of his choice speeches, the country editor remarks: "Mr. Cowan, M. C., *formerly* a representative of Pennsylvania in the U. S. Senate, has our thanks for a liberal supply of wrapping. While thankful for small favors, if it is just the same to him, he will oblige us by next time sending white sheets instead of going to the expense of having them printed with large type, 'Speech of E. Cowan,' etc. It spoils them for anything but wrapping paper, and is a reckless waste of raw material."

Poor Cowan! The next Legislature will have the agreeable duty of supplying his place. The change, we doubt not, will be wholly desirable, but let us hope a true and good man may be selected, one that will reflect credit upon our Commonwealth, not less for his personal worthiness than capacity, and show a devotion to grand principles equal to his fortitude in advocating impartial justice. Will such a man be chosen for the place? Some of our city papers are already agitating this question, but the point that seems to be a matter of most concern with them is, that he shall be a Philadelphian. Can Philadelphia give to the national Senate a better, stronger, more powerful, more acceptable man to the lovers of true liberty and universal justice than William D. Kelley? If so, who is that man? Let these anxious journals give us his name.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 18th, 1866.

I REGRET to tell you that Boston is by no means doing her duty in regard to sanitary arrangements. Perhaps the cholera will not come to us, but the condition of some parts of our city is a standing invitation to it. One region of considerable extent, bordering that new land on which the finest part of the city was expected to be built, is already familiarly known as "the Church Street nuisance." And now abominations of the same sort, only much more extensive, are found to exist in Ward 11, the least crowded part of the city, and the part that has far outstripped all others in increase of wealth and population, and also in the establishment of public squares and gardens, during the last ten years. The number of new churches and new schoolhouses which have been built there within that time is amazing. It has become the most attractive part, and the most fashionable part, of the city; forming the refuge for those wealthy residents of more central streets who have been driven from their homes by the extension of business in a Southerly direction. The centre of population has greatly changed here, and the centre of business is rapidly changing. And while whole streets of dwelling houses near these centres are getting replaced by shops and warehouses, new streets are building on what was once the "Back Bay," and on that other region known to a former generation as "The Neck." Boston Neck, occupied by Ward 11, is now more than half-a-mile wide, consisting almost entirely of "made land."

The portion of this Ward bordering Roxbury—consisting of a low, filthy marsh without even the pretence of drainage, and dotted here and there with clusters of wretched wooden houses, surrounded with stagnant water and slimy mud, the habitations of the very poorest class of laboring people—has long been a public nuisance, as well as a breeder of disease among its inhabitants. These offences were obvious enough, but the region was so large and the actual inhabitants so few that no attempt at purification was made there. Of late, however, the system of sanitary inspection called forth by the apprehended visit of cholera has shown us other and nearer nuisances needing abatement; and as these are in the immediate vicinity of the new City Hospital, and of the site now in contemplation for a fashionable Hotel at the South end (designed to be the largest and finest in the city, and to play some part in attracting Western trade to Boston), it may be worth while to call attention to them.

The new Hotel is designed to front on Franklin Square, looking Northward. But just beyond this Square, and only half a minute's walk from it in the same direction, is a settlement densely crowded with the most wretched specimens of our foreign population, and described by a faithful reporter as utterly abominable for its filthy condition. Bad drainage, overflowing vaults, and offensive smells characterize this region, and the filthiest sort of stagnant water constantly stands beneath the dwellings. It is amazing that the occupants of the fine houses closely adjoining this place have so long suffered the continuance of such a centre of infection. Indifference like this shows the absolute need of cholera or plague to awaken public attention.

Proceeding South, only two or three minutes walk from the site of the projected Hotel in the opposite direction, we come to the very extensive "Northampton Street nuisance." A vast region lies entirely undrained, and in portions of it the inspectors found an accumulation of filth almost indescribable. The alleys reeked with foul substances, pestilent pools were found beneath the dwellings, vaults overflowed, and the whole atmosphere was tainted with pollution. The lowest portion of this land, acres in extent, receives the drainage of the higher parts adjoining, and is constantly covered with filthy water, upon which floats a fetid scum, and from which foul exhalations are continually rising. And when a heavy rain occurs, this pool is of course enlarged, carrying its vile accumulations to the doors of the habitations around. All these evils are aggravated by a scarcity of pure water in that region.

A dock, the end of which is a quarter of a mile from its mouth, and which runs between the eastern ends of Northampton Street and Chester Park, and the filthy bottom of which is left uncovered at every tide, receives so much of the drainage of this region as does find an outlet, and has a very obvious effect upon the atmosphere. One would have expected proper arrangements for drainage at least in Chester Park, one of the finest streets in the city. But at its eastern extremity stand two blocks of wooden buildings, having this dock in their rear, and the City Hospital directly before them, which have been for years notoriously ill-cared-for and unwholesome, through the criminal neglect of the rich proprietor, who lives in a fine house in the most elevated part of the city.

These houses are without cellars. Their small backyards had arrangements purporting to be cesspools in them, into which the house slops were directed to be poured. But not only was there no connection of these with the poor and ill-planned drain, but even the connections of the sink-pipes in some of the houses with this drain had failed, so that the soil beneath two blocks, containing a dozen houses, had become saturated with the waste water of every sort which was poured down. The offensiveness of the place became such that a notice from the Board of Health was served upon the proprietor, requiring him to take some remedial measures. The explorations made for this purpose revealed a horrible state of things beneath the planking of the backyards, and beneath the houses themselves. The soil was saturated three feet deep with the house slops, and this permanently confined dampness had rotted the plank pavement and the lower boards and timbers of the houses. The suspicion of some occupants of the houses that there had been dead rats in their walls now received a different and even less satisfactory solution. A physician who was called to look at this state of things during the short time that it remained uncovered said that he had a year before warned one of the families there, when their child died, that they could not expect good health while they lived in that locality. And yet that locality is divided only by the breadth of a street from the finest houses in Chester Park, and it faces the City Hospital, at the distance only of a stone's throw.

The proprietor was obliged to do *something*; but the manner and amount of remedial measures were left, it seems, to his choice, and what he chose to do was this: instead of raising the houses, removing the putrid mass which he had suffered to fester there for years, and replacing it with clean gravel—he merely sent men underneath to fill up the holes where the liquid mud most readily accumulated; he abolished the pretended cess-pools, directing the slops to be thrown elsewhere; and he re-established a connection of the sinkpipes with the drain, providing that the nuisance should not grow worse by continuance of its causes. But then, instead of removing the offensive soil which his own negligence had left to become a nuisance, he replaced it upon the drain which had been uncovered, and scattered over the surface some vile-looking stuff collected from the city "dry dirt" carts, a mass of ashes mingled with rejected house rubbish of every sort, from which, however, the old shoes, lobster-shells, dead rats, bones, and other animal and vegetable remains were first removed. More of this stuff (intended probably to be an absorbent), he shoved under the edges of some of the houses, covering up so much of the corruption there as had been exposed. Then, in two or three of the yards in which the rotten planking had been raised to make these explorations, he covered the dirty ashes with a thin layer of common soil, not gravel, and supplied a new boarding, leaving all else as it was before.

The inspection of these regions in Boston with a view to the improvement of sanitary conditions has probably been far more thorough than ever before; but the most significant circumstance in the whole affair is that the health inspectors, after having brought these evils to the notice of the city authorities, have been notified by the internal health committee that their services are no longer needed. Why these functionaries are not retained to superintend, or at least report upon, the abatement of the nuisances which they have brought to light, does not clearly appear. But it is to be feared that the city authorities have already decided to take little or no remedial action.

The difficulty seems to be that the city government is afraid of the rich proprietors, and allows this shameful trifling with the public health for fear of the complaints of expense which a peremptory requisition of measures really remedial would bring upon them. The men best able to pay taxes are continually crying out against measures of improvement which cost something.

"How little, say they, the thoughtless poor
Know what the suffering rich endure."

It really seems as if an actual sharing of the diseases generated by bad air and water in the crowded life of cities was the only means of awakening the prosperous class to any serious attempt to remedy these evils.

The Hotel project seems to hang fire, only one fourth of its estimated cost having been subscribed, so far as I have heard. Perhaps that plan would work better after the adoption of efficient sanitary measures at the South end, including an abolition of the "bone nuisance," which still infects that part of the city in certain directions of the wind. There is much to be done yet for the health and comfort of Boston, besides building the thousand new houses which her population are said already to need.

One useful new measure, however, has been recently taken by our city government, the establishment of free public baths, in six different localities. Over four hundred persons indulged themselves with a bath in one of these places in a single day last week. Perfect order prevailed there, and apparently perfect satisfaction also.

NORTH.

LITERARY.

Mr. Thomas S. Townsend has compiled "a memorial record of all officers and men in the military and naval service whose names have received honorable mention in official reports, newspaper correspondence, obituary notices, and otherwise," during the war of the rebellion. The names are alphabetically arranged and accompanied by brief biographical notices. The work is called "Our Heroes, Dead and Living," and the first volume, containing 5,000 names and covering the period from April, 1861, to April, 1863, will shortly be issued.

The Miscellaneous Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne, author of "Atalanta in Calydon," etc., will shortly be published in London and New York. As two of the American reprints of Mr. Swinburne's different poems have been issued in New York, and two in Boston, the buyer who cares for a uniform edition must import it from London.

A striking illustration of the condition of the book manufacture in this country is given in the last number of the "American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular," in which we find a list of 48 works recently published in the United States, but stereotyped and printed in Europe. This list includes, we presume, a number of works really published in England, but of which a number of copies are imported with a title page containing the imprint of the American publisher, and sold here as if they were the genuine issues of his house.

The Syracuse *Standard* says: "Mr. George W. Curtis is seeking subscriptions for a money testimonial to Herbert Spencer. Mr. Spencer's works have had but a limited sale in England, but have had an extensive circulation in this country, from which, however, Mr. Spencer has derived no benefit. Mr. Spencer is poor, and we are glad that Mr. Curtis's efforts in his behalf promise to produce something substantial."

A Philadelphia paper gives some statistics concerning Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature, the second volume of which we recently announced as in the press. The work was projected in 1850, and the author commenced preparing it for the press in 1853. The first volume (A to J), of over 1,000 pages imperial octavo, was published in December, 1858. The manuscript of the whole work, fairly copied for the press, fills 19,044 large foolscap pages. Twenty-two months were required to write up the letter S, and about as many more for the letter W. The catalogue of authors includes 700 Smiths, 90 of whom are Johns. Altogether, there are 30,000 biographical and literary notices, and there are 40 indexes of subjects. The entire mass of manuscript was copied by Mrs. Allibone.

Among the announcements by Little and Brown of works in press we find the 9th volume of Mr. Bancroft's "History;" "Principles of Wealth, or Manual of Political Economy," by Amasa Walker; "Plutarch's Morals," translated by various hands and corrected and revised by Professor W. W. Goodwin of Harvard University; "Old Plays, chiefly from the period beginning with Marlowe and ending with Dryden; with Introduction and Notes by Professor James Russell Lowell," in 10 volumes, post 8vo.; a 16mo. edition of More's "Utopia;" and a reprint of Major's edition of Izaak Walton's "Complete Angler," with wood-cuts and steel engravings.

—Plutarch's Morals is a book much less popularly known than the "Lives," and the one English edition of it has long been reckoned among scarce books. But of its great value let Emerson testify:

"Plutarch's 'Morals' is less known and seldom reprinted. Yet such a reader as I am writing to can as ill spare it as the 'Lives.' He will read in it the essays 'On the Daemon of Socrates,' 'On Isis and Osiris,' 'On Progress in Virtue,' 'On Garrulity,' 'On Love,' and thank anew the art of printing, and the cheerful domain of ancient thinking. Plutarch charms by the facility of his associations; so that it signifies little where you open his book, you find yourself at the Olympian tables. His memory is like the Isthmian games, where all that was excellent in Greece was assembled, and you are stimulated and recruited by lyric verses, by philosophic sentiments, by the forms and behavior of heroes, by the worship of the Gods, and by the passing of fillets, parsley, and laurel wreaths, chariots, armor, sacred cups, and utensils of sacrifice. An inestimable trilogy of ancient social pictures are the three 'Banquets' respectively of Plato, Xenophon, and Plutarch. Plutarch's has the least claim to historical accuracy; but the meeting of the Seven Wise Masters is a charming portraiture of ancient manners and discourse, and is as clear as the voice of a fife, and entertaining as a French novel."

THE STANDARD IN PHILADELPHIA.—T. B. PUGH, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, has THE STANDARD for sale. BENJAMIN C. BACON, at the office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, will supply specimen copies, and receive and forward new subscriptions for THE STANDARD.

ART ITEMS.

Gov. Andrew's portrait has been placed in Faneuil Hall by a club of fifty Boston gentlemen.

Gen. Scott is to have an equestrian statue in New York, if the money can be raised, and an artist found.

A. T. Stewart has purchased Kellogg's "Princess after the Bath," said to be a marvel of coloring, for the nice little sum of $25,000.

Bierstadt's picture, the "North Branch of the Platte River," was painted to order in 1861 for $1,500. It was sold a few days ago, at the Dusseldorf Gallery, for $7,000.

Gustave Dore's new edition of "Les Fables de La Fontaine" is to be published in Paris by Hachette, in weekly numbers, at fifty centimes each. There will be about three hundred illustrations.

Leutze, we are sorry to learn, is engaged on a new historical picture, the subject of which is a passage in the life of Mary Queen of Scots. It represents the first mass in Holyrood.

Of our well-known artists Church is on his farm on the Hudson; Bierstadt is at Irvington; McIntee has a farm at Rondout; Gignoux is at Islip, but expects to Summer in the Adirondacks; Cropsey goes to Greenwood Lake, N. J.; Kensett proposes to visit Milford, Pa; Casilear will go to the White Mountains.

Mr. William Page has finished his historical painting, of which the subject is Admiral Farragut lashed to the shrouds of the Hartford, while she was entering Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864. It is to be exhibited for a time for the benefit of the New York Mercantile Library Association.

Writes the Paris correspondent of the New York *Tribune:* "Gustave Dore, the irrepressible, is to have a fine-art exhibition of his own production—something less than an acre of his painted canvas. He has recently bought and converted into an immense studio a building in the Avenue Montaigne, formerly used as a gymnasium. Here he sports his brush at will, plashing over the spaces in an altogether wonderful, sad manner. Dore is in great danger, with all his really great talent, of sinking into a mere phenomenon, more wonderful than admirable. He is threatened with the fate of Alexandre Dumas; he crops, not cultivates, with astonishing and lamentable rapidity, the unselected, unfruited growth of a rankly luxuriant imagination. I can't help it; I beg his and his admirers' pardon, but he provokes odious comparisons with George Francis Train. If he only could control his nature, and concentrate its powers on a score or two of wood cuts, and a few square yards of canvas, for their year's work!"

William Page's "Farragut Triumphant" is on exhibition in New York, and elicits the following notice from Mr. Clarence Cook, the chief of the art critics:

"We shall not attempt to judge this picture by what we saw of it on Monday night in the ill-lighted, uncomfortable room where it is shown. Of its color, nothing can be seen, except by daylight, and we shall see it by daylight, and speak of it again. But, of the treatment of the subject, we can say something; it seems to us simple, noble and true. It is severe in its simplicity; but that is befitting, and Mr. Page has no other method. He has wished to make it true, and has set such an example of historic fidelity as must edify Mr. Leutze and his tribe. The nobleness of the portraiture is its first impression; it deepens as we look; it is an unstudied nobleness in the hero, with which the artist has sympathized, and which he has as unconsciously painted. We, really, do not need the somewhat naïve injunction of the programe—*must* every picture exhibited in public have a printed, explanatory-laudatory notice tacked to it?—to look at it long enough to lose sight of all other objects, and so become a participator in the scene it represents'! In our case the picture looked itself, as Topsy would have said; and, in truth, it must be a strong picture, to make one forget its elaborately ugly, but, doubtless, hugely expensive guilt frame."

CONGRESS AND WASHINGTON.

THE House on Wednesday, June 13, concurred with the Senate in its amendments to the Reconstruction Amendment, by a vote of 120 to 32. We published in this column last week the resolution as finally adopted by both Houses.—The Senate amended the Legislative appropriation bill by giving the President a Private Secretary at $3,500, an assistant at $2,500, a short-hand man to report his speeches—and very busy he will be kept at $2,500, and four clerks beside—without any of whom Mr. Lincoln contrived to get through the tremendous business of the war.—Mr. Stevens in the House offered a substitute for so much of his last Reconstruction bill as relates to Tennessee, and proposes to admit her representatives *pro tempore*.—It seems to be understood that Jefferson Davis is not to be released at present.—Thursday, June 14, was marked by an assault upon Mr. Grinnell of Iowa by Mr. Rousseau of Kentucky for words spoken in debate. It was a weak imitation of the ferocity of the old plantation representatives, but not less brutal in spirit than former outrages.—The Senate voted to create the grade of full Admiral in the Navy, by 18 to 11. The place is, of course, meant for Farragut.—Mr. Harris of Maryland made a disunion speech for which he deserved to be expelled, but was not.—Friday, June 15, immediately after the reading of the journal, Mr. Spalding of Ohio offered a resolution to inquire into the Rousseau assault. A committee was appointed, and met on the following day but adjourned for a week to oblige Mr. Rousseau—a very uncalled for compliment to the Kentucky ruffian.—The question concerning the presentation to the President of a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment came up incidentally in the House. There is no doubt about the matter, except in the minds of certain Copperhead gentlemen who want to assist Mr. Johnson to make another issue with Congress. Such a resolution does not require the President's signature, Mr. Colfax presented the history of the law on this point in a very clear and complete manner.—Monday, June 18, the House rejected a resolution to amend the Constitution so as to allow an export duty to be laid on cotton.—Yeas 59; Nays 61.—The Committee on Enrolled bills announced that they had filed with the Secretary of State the resolution of Congress proposing the new Constitutional Amendment. The House passed a resolution requesting the President to transmit copies to the several States.—Tuesday, June 19, the Army Appropriation bill was amended by appropriating the following sums for the support of the Freedmen's Bureau: For salaries of Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners, $147,500; salaries of clerks, $82,800; for clothing to be distributed among the freedmen, $1,170,000; for commissary stores, $3,306,250; transportation, $1,320,000; for school superintendents, $21,000; repairs for school-houses, etc., $500,000.—An attempt was made to take up the Freedmen's Bureau bill, but the Senate voted, 14 to 17, that it must wait for a Pacific Railroad bill.—The House reconsidered its vote rejecting the bill to establish a Department of Education, and passed it by 80 to 44. The act provides for a Department to collect educational statistics, in charge of a Commissioner, at a salary of $4,000, with three clerks, and requires a report to be presented annually to Congress, embodying the results of his investigations, including in the first report information as to the college land-grants, and the way in which those trusts have been managed.—Mr. Schenck's new Army bill was considered at length, and will probably pass. It provides for an army of 43,000, capable of expansion to 70,000. This force includes five regiments of artillery, six of cavalry, fifty of infantry, and the professors and pupils of West Point Military Academy. A motion to increase the number of cavalry regiments to 12 was rejected, as was one to reduce the number of infantry regiments to 40. Eight regiments of colored troops are to form a part of the army.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE SEVERAL REPORTS OF THE JUDGES:

From report of Dr. Wm. Berge.

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CRAM.

THERE is nothing upon which most advocates of rational education look with more horror than the development of the modern art of cramming. It is the evil which infests most pertinaciously the whole system of competitive examinations. It is to them what the art of adulteration is to commerce; as competition increases it becomes more worth while to find some cheap substitute for the genuine ingredients of beer or of historical knowledge. The further the area of examination extends, the greater becomes the difficulty of ensuring the efficiency of the scrutiny. In those modern schemes where the ideal pupil is to be a youth who at the age of twenty knows everything from metaphysics to the rule of three, it is the interest of each candidate to spare his brains as much possible, and to make the greatest show with the least exertion in the greatest number of subjects. Of course, a very large proportion of the knowledge so acquired disappears as rapidly as it has been gained. At Cambridge, where cram has been carried to a high degree of perfection in the pass examinations, a candidate for the Littlego used in former days to suspend in his rooms a large sheet of paper, into which were compressed, or supposed to be compressed, the whole evidences of the Christian religion. By running over in his head certain cabalistic symbols, combined into hexameter verses, the examinee could call up the various cut and dry arguments by which the credibility of the Gospels was established. Of course, the youthful defenders of the faith thus prepared were very insufficiently armed. By the time they had developed into country clergymen they had forgotten every scrap of information acquired, and were as little able as their neighbors to bring any tremendous logical batteries to bear upon infidel assailants. The mere insufficiency of the knowledge thus obtained was a small part of the injury done. The whole standard of education was lowered. The students were taught the practice of putting off false intellectual coinage for genuine; they lost the taste for laborious habits of thought; and, if they originally possessed any appetite for knowledge, they were probably so disgusted with the inferior stuff passed off upon them for substantial food, that they were revolted ever afterwards at the very name of learning. It brought up associations of mechanical drudgery, instead of intelligent labor. In most bad practices, however, an ingenious mind can discover some compensating principle. According to the hackneied examples people who studied alchemy and astrology were guilty of great folly, but they incidentally discovered some valuable truths; and it is possible that in the practice of systematic adulteration some chemical discoveries may turn up, or that some otherwise useless materials may be turned to account. This does not, indeed, atone for the cheating and poisoning which is the direct result of the practice; but we need not shut our eyes to the small accompanying advantages. And we are therefore not surprised that Mr. Maine has lately pointed out at Calcutta that some good ends may be served by the crammers. No animal, however noxions in appearance, is quite without his use, and we may perhaps discover by due attention the final cause of beings whose immediate purpose seems to be the corruption of the youthful intellect. Considering the rapid growth of the system of competitive examinations, and the elaborate methods by which early candidates are now forced for the market, we should certainly be pleased to discover that some good result may be obtained from the practice; for, good or bad, it is far more likely to receive further development than to be put down.

The examination system resembles, in one respect, the battle between guns and armor-plates. Every new discovery in defence calls forth a corresponding device for attack. The examiner invents some new variety of question or applies some more stringent test, and the crammer immediately sets about discovering some way of circumventing his efforts. The examiner tries to aim his questions at new points of attack; the crammer tries to foresee his schemes, as the skilful hunter anticipates the place at which his game will break cover. The examiner introduces some hitherto unhacknied subject: the crammer immediately reduces it to a set of cut and dry propositions fit for the consumption of stupid pupils. There are some topics in which the examiner has so little choice of a line of action that he cannot be certain of eluding his adversary; but, fortunately, there are others where no skill will enable false knowledge to pass itself off for genuine. The main distinction for this purpose is between such subjects as history, where nothing but a knowledge of facts is required, and those where the competitors have to exhibit, not merely memory, but some intellectual acquirement. Of the last kind, for example, are original mathematical problems or classical composition, in either of which cram can be of very little service. The disposition of the best examiners is, therefore, to eliminate as much as possible the former kind of tests, and to restrict themselves to the latter. No one, for example, can be taught to write good Latin prose in six months; it requires the unwearied labor of years, and a genuine familarity with the resources of the language. If there were any probability that crammers could turn out youths capable of competing successfully in such contests within a shorter period than has hitherto been allowed, they would have made a real educational discovery. They would have proved that they could not merely enable a man to retain a certain number of facts in his memory, but that they could enable him to turn them to some real account. They would have strengthened his faculties up to a certain point, instead of merely burdening them with a weight which he could cast off directly the trial was over. The only objection would be that the strain might possibly produce injurious effects. The man might be injured like a horse who is made to run severe races before his strength is fully developed. Unluckily, however, the crammers generally seek for easier triumphs than these. They know that in the short period of preparation allowed to them they can produce more showy results with less expenditure of labor. Like the farmer in a new country, they prefer raising a scanty crop over a large surface to any thorough methods of cultivation. Consequently, they concentrate their efforts upon that part of the examination where it is more difficult to discriminate between different qualities of knowledge. They force into the mind such a smattering of French or German as the desperate British tourist sometimes improvises in foreign parts. They pick out those mathematical rules which can be stated by an ignorant person with the least risk of exposure. They especially revel in little abtracts of historical information, because it is really difficult to discover whether the knowledge of dates and genealogies is a result of wide reading or of the judicious imbibition of two or three selected formulæ. The relation of crammers to pupils is like that of the fairies in the "Arabian Nights" to their favorites; the fairy bestows three or four mysterious talismans, each of which turns out to be useful by some extraordinary coincidence at the right moment; but the favored person has not the smallest understanding of the *rationale* of the fairy's proceedings.

When cramming is defined to be the art of communicating knowledge quickly, this is the process intended to be described. The mental faculties do not receive any discipline; the learner is not trained to use the weapons put into his hands; he is only instructed to go through such a set of motions as may deceive a cursory observer. And as far as cram is to be considered as a substitute for more thorough modes of education, it must be considered to be an almost unmitigated evil. Taken by itself, however, we may admit that the talent which it tends to develop is one not altogether useless, although of a comparatively low order. A readiness to acquire superficial knowledge, and to make it supply the place of thorough information, is undoubtedly a useful faculty. A lawyer who can get up any branch of human knowledge sufficiently to impose for a time upon the persons interested, or a statesman who is capable of impressing a deputation from any particular section of society with the belief that their interests occupy the very first place in his mind, possesses a talent which is undeniably useful to himself. It would generally be denied that it is of much use to anybody else. But, after all, we should get on very badly if superficial knowledge were to be proscribed, and no man were to be permitted to talk about what he did not understand. Some people may best discharge their duty by absorbing information with the pertinacity of a German professor. Others may act as mere temporary resting-places for knowledge; it may be reflected off them on to other minds without producing any permanent result on the intermediate point of incidence. A good many articles are written about foreign affairs just now, which are palpably the result of mere cram; but it is probably better that people should gratify their interest in Italy and Austria even in this form than that they should become indifferent. A man who crams some scientific theory for use in a popular lecture, and forgets it as soon as he has done with it, has really done some service to mankind. He has helped, amongst other things, so far as he could, to increase the prestige of science in partially educated minds. The genuine teacher, of whom he is an imperfect imitation, looks down upon him with contempt, but perhaps owes more to him than he thinks. In a time when it is becoming daily more difficult to gain a real mastery over any particular department of learning, this art of cramming also becomes daily more convenient. It requires, for example, immense research to enable a man to speak with genuine authority upon many historical questions, where knowledge has been constantly accumulating. If no one was to be allowed to assume the general results who had not gone through the process by which they were obtained, the increased learning would perish under its own weight. But this is the very definition of the higher art of cramming. It is intended to increase the power of using the labor of other people, without going through the labor oneself. The dexterity and versatility of mind required is not a very lofty quality, but it is one which has its practical use in the present state of the world. If the systematic crammers really encouraged it, and if their encouragement was not bestowed at the expense of more valuable mental powers, we should not seriously complain of them; within those limits we may allow that they are really making useful experiments in education. Unluckily, too many of their plans seem calculated rather to lower the intellectual activity of their pupils, by sparing them every kind of trouble, than to encourage even this minor kind of facility. And too many of the pupils make themselves mere passive machines, to be manipulated by their tutors, and thus fail to understand even the lessons which they might legitimately learn from a questionable method of instruction.

THOREAU.

IT is now nearly four years since the inhabitants of the little town of Concord, Mass., were gathered round the grave of one who, though a hermit, was dear to all of them, and who, as a naturalist and scholar, had received the homage of those literary men who have given to that town the celebrity of an American Weimar. Ralph Waldo Emerson was the chief speaker on this sad occasion, and at the conclusion of a touching tribute to his friend, he said: "There is a flower known to botanists, one of the same genus with our Summer plant called 'Life Everlasting,' a *Gnaphalium* like that which grows on the most inaccessible cliffs of the Tyrolese mountains, where the chamois dare hardly venture, and which the hunter, tempted by its beauty and by his love (for it is immensely valued by the Swiss maidens), climbs the cliffs to gather, and is sometimes found dead at the foot, with the flower in his hand. It is called by the botanists *Gnaphalium leontopodium*, but by the Swiss *Edelweisse*, which signifies *Noble Purity*. Thoreau seemed to me living in the hope to gather this plant, which belonged to him of right. The scale on which his studies proceeded was so large as to require longevity, and we were the less prepared for his sudden disappearance. The country knows not yet, or in the least part, how great a son it has lost. It seems an injury that he should leave in the midst his broken task, which none else can finish,—a kind of indignity to so noble a soul, that it should depart out of nature before yet he has been really shown to his peers for what he is. But he at least is content. His soul was made for the noblest society; he had in a short life exhausted the capabilities of this world; wherever there is virtue, wherever there is beauty, he will find a home."

Henry David Thoreau was born in Concord in 1817, and there lived and died. He was the last son of a French ancestor, a lead-pencil maker, who went to Massachusetts from the Isle of Guernsey. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1837, though without scholastic distinction, and afterwards taught a private school for a short time. He then applied himself to his father's craft, and obtained certificates of having made a pencil better than any in use; but on being congratulated that the way to fortune was thus opened, he declared that he should never make another pencil, since he did not wish to do again what he had done once. He disappointed his family and friends by steadily declining to enter upon any of the accustomed paths to profit or fame with other educated young men; but was not self-indulgent nor idle, was skilful with his hands, and was already industrious about something, none knew what, in the woods around Concord. He could make a boat or a fence, or plant a garden, and when he needed money obtained it by doing some such piece of work.

It is plain, however, that he had no "talent for wealth," and it was an early perception with him that a man's real life was generally sacrificed to obtaining the means of living; he was resolved to make his wealth consist in his having few wants. His natural skill in mensuration, however, and his intimate knowledge of the neighborhood, rendered his services as a surveyor valuable to the farmers,—of whom, for the most part, the town consists; and, leading him often to the fields and woods, this furnished to him an occupation so agreeable to his tastes, that he drifted into it as a profession. "If I had," he said, "the wealth of Cœsus bestowed on me, my aims must still be the same, and my means essentially the same." He declined dinner-parties, because he could not meet individuals at them to any purpose: "they make their pride," he said, "in making their dinner cost much; I make my pride in making my dinner cost little." When asked at the table what dish he preferred, he answered, "The nearest." Those who met him felt at once that there was no affectation in all this, but that this youth had set for himself a real devotion to the current of his own nature. He was never sad, morose, or misanthropic, but had humor and enthusiasm. "He chose," says Emerson, "wisely, no doubt, for himself, to be the bachelor of thought and nature."

Although Thoreau lived personally apart from the world, it is interesting to observe how, in his action and his writings, the society around him is reflected, though somewhat inverted. New England was burgeoning forth, under the tropical breath of Transcendentalism, with strange and rare growths of new thoughts and essays at thought, much to the dismay of the Puritan Apostolic succession. The capital of that strange realm was at Concord, where Emerson, the mildest promoter of a reign of terror imaginable, and Margaret Fuller, and Hawthorne, and Elizabeth Peabody, and others, dwelt and worked as monarch and ministry of a new spiritual kingdom. It soon became plain that what these were endeavoring to put into literature, Thoreau was aiming to put into individual life; not consciously, perhaps, but because he must be the product of the intellectual as well as the physical elements surrounding him there at his first or his second birth. When the *Dial*—the quarterly magazine which represented the new movement—began its career in 1841 he was one of its contributors, and there were printed in it several of the papers which are now collected in the volume called *Excursions*. These papers related to the natural history around Concord, and are in form much like the earlier work from which I have given specimens. One piece published in the *Dial* in 1843, "A Winter Walk," was then and is now much admired for its delicate perception of the subtle beauties and truths of nature.

But the Transcendental agitation was not more reflected in the secluded, wayward stream of Thoreau's life than the Socialistic movement which followed it, and was, doubtless, its first offspring. When nearly every leading spirit of what were called "the New Views," went into the Brook Farm community—even Channing and Hawthorne, who were not distinctively Transcendentalists—Emerson remained at home to evolve Arcadias of pure thought, and Thoreau to reproduce Utopias of individual life. In 1845 he built himself a house, with his own hands, on the shores of a beautiful water near Concord, called "Walden." This lakelet, which is but a short distance from Emerson's home, and has been long the haunt of poets and students, is a perennial clear spring, set in a frame of thick pine and oak wood, is half a mile long and a mile and three-quarters in circumference. The pond has no visible inlet or outlet, and its water is of such extraordinary transparency that the bottom may be seen at a depth of twenty-five or thirty feet, with the fishes large and small swimming below.

On one occasion Thoreau lost his axe through the ice on it, and looking down saw it and obtained it again from a depth of twenty-five feet, with a slipnoose at the end of a long birch. The water is remarkable too for its beautiful shifting tints, being at times almost of the dove's neck lustre. It is fringed with flowers in their season, and always encinctured with evergreen: many fishes—silver, steel-colored, and golden—and ducks, geese, peetweets, with other wild birds, may be found there. One who has seen the spot can scarcely wonder that to such a child of the elements as Thoreau there was in the pure depths of Walden the eye and voice of the Erl-King's daughter. For though, as I have said, the movements of opinion and reform going on around him were reflected in Thoreau's thought and life, it was only as the bird or cloud flitting over the lake would seem to pass through its depths; it has winged and fair things of its own beneath them.

To show that educated man could build his house and live happily in Nature without impawning the hours of his life or coining his heart and soul into money, were incidental motives and appropriate to the times: below these are the deeps of individuality, with their strange, ineffable dreams and aspirations. "I long ago," he says in the opening chapter of *Walden*, "lost a hound, a bay horse, and a turtle-dove, and am still on their trail. Many are the travellers I have spoken concerning them, describing their tracks and what calls they answered to. I have met one or two who had heard the hound, and the tramp of the horse, and even seen the dove disappear behind a cloud, and they seemed as anxious to recover them as if they had lost themselves."

On a Summer morning, about fourteen years ago, I went with Mr. Emerson, and was introduced to Thoreau. I was then connected with Divinity College at Cambridge, and my new acquaintance was interested to know what we were studying there at the time. "Well, the Scriptures." "But *which?*" he asked, not without a certain quiet humor playing about his serious blue eye. It was evident that, as Morgana in the story marked all the doors so that the one ceased to be a sign, he had marked Persian and Hindu and other ethnical Scriptures with the reverential sign usually found on the Hebrew writings alone. He had the best library of Oriental books in the country, and subsequently Mr. Cholmondeley, an English gentleman to whom he was much attached, sent him from England more than a score of important works of this character. His books show how closely and reverently he had studied them, and indeed are worthy of attention from lovers of Eastern Scriptures apart from their other values.

A day or two later, however, I enjoyed my first walk with Thoreau, which was succeeded by many others. We started westward from the village, in which direction his favorite walks lay, for I then found out the way he had of connecting casual with universal things. He desired to order his morning walk after the movement of the planet. The sun is the grand western pioneer; he sets his gardens of Hesperides on the horizon every evening to lure the race; the race moves westward, as animals migrate, by instinct; therefore we are safe in going by Goose Pond to Baker's farm. Of every square acre of ground, he contended, the Western side was the wildest, and therefore the fittest for the seeker to explore. *Ex oriente lux ex occidente frux.* I now had leisure to observe carefully this man. He was short of stature, well built, and such a man as I have fancied Julius Cæsar to have been. Every movement was full of courage and repose; the tones of his voice were those of Truth herself; and there was in his eye the pure bright blue of the New England sky, as there was sunshine in his flaxen hair. He had a particularly strong aquiline-Roman nose, which somehow reminded me of the prow of a ship. There was in his face and expression, with all its sincerity, a kind of intellectual furtiveness; no wild thing could escape him more than it could be harmed by him. The gray huntsman's suit which he wore enhanced this expression:

> "He took the color of his vest
> From rabbit's coat and grouse's breast;
> For as the wild kinds lurk and hide,
> So walks the huntsman unespied."

The cruellest weapons of attack, however, which this huntsman took with him were a spyglass for birds, a microscope for the game that would hide in smallness, and an old book in which to press plants. His powers of conversation were extraordinary. I remember being surprised and delighted at every step with revelations of laws and significant attributes in common things,—as a relation between different kinds of grass and the geological characters beneath them, the variety and grouping of pine-needles and the effect of these differences on the sounds they yield when struck by the wind, and the shades, so to speak, of taste represented by grasses and common herbs when applied to the tongue. The acuteness of his senses was marvellous: no hound could scent better, and he could hear the most faint and distant sounds without even laying his ear to the ground like an Indian.

As we penetrated farther and farther into the woods, he seemed to gain a certain transformation, and his face shone with a light that I had not seen in the village. He had a calendar of the plants and flowers of the neighborhood, and would sometimes go around a quarter of a mile to visit some floral friend, whom he had not seen for a year, who would appear for that day only. We were too early for the *hibiscus*, a rare flower in New England, which I desired to see. He pointed out the spot by the river-side where alone it could be found, and said it would open about the following Monday, and not stay long. I went on Tuesday evening and found myself a day too late,—the petals were scattered on the ground.

Though shy of general society, Thoreau was a hero among children, and the captain of their excursions. Sometimes I have gone with Thoreau and his young comrades for an expedition on the river, to gather, it may be, water-lilies. Upon such excursions his resources for our entertainment were inexhaustible. He would tell stories of the Indians who once dwelt thereabout until the children almost looked to see a red man skulking with his arrow on shore; and every plant or flower on the bank or in the water, and every fish, turtle, frog, lizard, about us was transformed by the wand of his knowledge, from the low form into which the spell of our ignorance had reduced it, into a mystic beauty. One of his surprises was to thrust his hand softly into the water, and as softly raise up before our astonished eyes a large bright fish, which lay as contentedly in his hand as if they were old acquaintances! If the fish had also dropped a penny from its mouth, it could not have been a more miraculous proceeding to us. The entire crew bared their arms and tried to get hold of a fish, but only the captain succeeded.

I do not doubt but that it was this and other intimacies of Thoreau with various animals that suggested to his friend and neighbor Mr. Hawthorne the character of Donatello in the tale of *Transformation*. And I have fancied that Emerson—who has applied to him what Fuller said of Butler the apiologist, that "either he had told the bees things or the bees had told him"—had Thoreau in his mind when he wrote in his *Woodnotes:*

> "It seemed as if the breezes brought him;
> It seemed as if the sparrows taught him;
> As if by secret sight he knew
> Where, in far fields, the orchis grew.
> Many haps fall in the field,
> Seldom seen by wishful eyes,
> But all her shows did Nature yield,
> To please and win this pilgrim wise.
> He saw the partridge drum in the woods;
> He heard the woodcock's evening hymn;
> He found the tawny thrush's broods,
> And the sly hawk did wait for him;
> What others did at distance hear,
> And guessed within the thicket's gloom,
> Was showed to this philosopher,
> And at his bidding seemed to come."

But it seems that the elves of wood and water were alluring him from the earth. The seeds of consumption were prematurely developed, perhaps by his life of exposure; but the distress and appeals of friends and relatives could not, to the last, overcome the fascinations of Nature, and persuade him to remain within doors. He was sent at length to the more gentle climate of the Mississippi; but it was of no avail, and he soon returned home to die. In his last letter (March 21, 1862), written by his sister to a young poet whom he had never met, he said: "I am encouraged to know that, so far as you are concerned, I have not written my books in vain. I suppose that I have not many months to live; but of course I know nothing about it. I may add, that I am enjoying existence as much as ever, and regret nothing."—*Every Saturday.*

HOW TO READ THE SKY.—The colors of the sky at particular times afford wonderful good guidance. Not only does a rosy sunset prestige fair weather, and a ruddy sunrise bad weather, but there are other tints which speak with equal clearness and accuracy. A bright yellow sky in the evening indicates wind; a pale yellow wet, a neutral grey color constitutes a favorable sign in the evening, an unfavorable one in the morning. The clouds are full of meaning in themselves. If their forms are soft, undefined and feathery, the weather will be fine; if the edges are hard, sharp and definite, it will be foul. Generally speaking, any deep, unusual hues betoken wind or rain; while the more quiet and delicate tints bespeak fair weather. Simple as these maxims are, the British Board of Trade has thought fit to publish them for the use of seafaring men.

THE PREMIER AND THE BISHOP.—The following anecdote of Lord Palmerston and the Bishop of Oxford is going the round: The two parties being on a visit in the same house, on Sunday, Lord Palmerston proposed to take the Bishop to church in his carriage, which the latter declined, saying he preferred walking, and off he started. It came on to rain, and the Premier passing the Bishop, put his head out of the window, saying—

> "'How blest is he who ne'er consents
> By ill advice to *walk*.'"

"Ay," said the Bishop—

> "'Nor stands in sinners' way, nor *sits*
> Where men profanely talk.'"

A FRENCHMAN, on arriving in England and finding himself utterly unobserved, no official asking his passport, no policeman dogging his steps, no mayor demanding his business, felt sad and lonely, and exclaimed that he was no more taken notice of than if he was a little dog.

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Resulting from any cause whatsoever.

H

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EXPOSURE,

FEVERS,

OR

DISEASES OF CAMP LIFE.

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O

DYSPEPSIA,

AND DISEASES RESULTING FROM DISORDERS OF THE LIVER AND DIGESTIVE ORGANS,

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This Bitters has performed more cures, gives better satisfaction, has more testimony, has more respectable people to vouch for it, than any other article in the market.

O

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WILL CURE EVERY CASE OF

CHRONIC OR NERVOUS DEBILITY

AND

DISEASES OF THE KIDNEYS.

F

Observe the following Symptoms, resulting from Disorders of the Digestive Organs:

Constipation, Inward Piles, Fulness of Blood to the Head, Acidity of the Stomach, Nausea, Heartburn, Disgust for Food, Fulness or Weight in the Stomach, Sour Eructations, Sinking or Fluttering at the Pit of the Stomach, Swimming of the Head, Hurried and Difficult Breathing, Fluttering at the Heart, Choking or Suffocating Sensations when in a lying posture, Dimness of Vision, Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever and Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of Perspiration, Yellowness of the Skin and eyes, Pain in the Side, Back, Chest, Limbs, etc., Sudden Flushes of Heat, Burning in the Flesh, Constant Imaginings of Evil, Great Depression of Spirits.

L

REMEMBER,

that this Bitters is not Alcoholic, contains no Rum or Whiskey, and cannot make Drunkards, but is the Best Tonic in the World.

READ WHO SAYS SO.

* * * * * * * *

[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, Phil.]

GENTLEMEN: I have recently been laboring under the distressing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a prostration of the nervous system. Numerous remedies were recommended by friends, and some of them tested, but without relief. Your Hoofland's German Bitters were recommended by persons who had tried them, and whose favorable mention of these Bitters induced me to try them. I must confess that I had an aversion to Patent Medicines from the "thousand and one" quack "Bitters," whose only aim seems to be to palm off sweetened and drugged liquor upon the community in a sly way, and the tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a confirmed drunkard. Upon learning that yours was really a medicinal preparation, I took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only upon the stomach, but upon the nervous system, was prompt and gratifying. I feel that I have derived great and permanent benefit from the use of a few bottles.

Very respectfully yours,

W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A

[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]

I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.

Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]

From the many respectable recommendations given to Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to give them a trial. After using several bottles I found them to be a good remedy for debility, and a most excellent tonic for the stomach.

D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]

Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.

Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,

966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N

[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]

I have been frequently requested to connect my name with commendations of different kinds of medicines, but regarding the practice as out of my appropriate sphere, I have in all cases declined; but with a clear proof in various instances, and particularly in my own family, of the usefulness of Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I depart for once from my usual course, to express my full conviction that, *for general debility of the system, and especially for Liver Complaint, it is a safe and valuable preparation.* In some cases it may fail; but usually, I doubt not, it will be very beneficial to those who suffer from the above causes.

Yours, very respectfully,

J. H. KENNARD, Eighth, below Coates st.

Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864.

Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Reformed Church, Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dyspepsia of twenty years' standing.

A. M. Spangler, Editor of the *Culturist*, No. 25 North Sixth st., Philadelphia, says this Bitters was recommended to him by a medical friend, and six bottles cured him of complete prostration of the nervous system.

Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge and *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.;

Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxborough Baptist Church;

Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Pemberton, N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Church, Phil., at present Pastor of the Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.

These gentlemen express, in the strongest terms, their favorable opinion of these Bitters.

D

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